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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Freedom and the Germans
By H. W. Weigert

Fighting Two Wars
An Editorial

Preparation for the Peace
By Oswald Garrison Villard

War Is Not Sin; War Is Hell!
An Editorial

Is State Shinto a Religion?
By D. C. Holtom

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In This Issue

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD has been an outstanding figure in the ranks of liberal American journalism for years. His autobiography, *Fighting Years,* published two years ago, tells of his experiences at the time of the Spanish and First World wars, and of the long period during which he both edited and published the *Nation* and the *New York Evening Post.* He now contributes a bi-weekly article to The Christian Century.

D. C. HOLTOM continues the series of articles on "Japanese Christianity and Shinto Nationalism." By inadvertence it was stated in a recent number that Dr. Holtom had been head of the theological department at Aoyama Gakuin, Tokyo. Dr. Holtom's educational career in Japan was never in connection with any theological school or department. At Aoyama Gakuin he was professor of the history of religions, including courses in the history of Christianity. After leaving Aoyama Gakuin early in 1940 he was elected to a professorship in the newly organized joint Southern Baptist and Northern Baptist theological school in Tokyo, but this relationship was cut short by the action of the authorities in expressing a desire that, as a non-Japanese, he should not be permitted to teach subjects having to do with the direction of thought of Japanese youth. Dr. Holtom's list of books and articles on Shintoism is very long, and carries authority throughout the scholarly world. His home is at present in Palo Alto, Calif.

H. W. WEIGERT was at one time an official of the international law division of the Prussian ministry of justice, and a member of the Dahlem Church, of which Martin Niemöller is pastor. A refugee from the Hitler regime, he has worked with the Goodyear Company in this country, with Dr. A. E. Morgan at Yellow Springs, Ohio, and is now professor of political science at Hiram and Youngstown colleges.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

January 21, 1942

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Calendar of Coming Events

Jan. 18-23. National Christian Mission, Wheeling, W. Va.; Hannibal, Mo.; Quincy, Ill.
Jan. 20-22. Interdenominational Missionary Assembly, Jacksonville, Fla.
Jan. 20-22. University of Tennessee Mid-Winter Convocation, Knoxville; Ralph Sockman, speaker.
Jan. 21. Wayne Baptist Association, Holly, Mich.
Jan. 21-23. Interdenominational Missionary Assembly, Daytona Beach, Fla.
Jan. 22. Flint River Baptist Association, Flint, Mich.
Jan. 23. Federal Council of Churches, Executive Committee, New York city.
Jan. 23. Huron Baptist Association, Port Huron, Mich.
Jan. 23, 24. Midwestern Conference on Religion and Labor, Chicago.
Jan. 24. Child Labor Day.
Jan. 24-28. Interdenominational Missionary Assembly, Miami, Fla.
Jan. 25. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Rockwell Kent, speaker.
Jan. 25. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; James E. Freeman, speaker.
Jan. 25. Southeast Youth Conference, Miami, Fla.
Jan. 25. Sunday Evening Forum, First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Ill.; Francis S. Hutchins, speaker.
Jan. 25-27. Interdenominational Missionary Assembly, Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Jan. 25-30. National Christian Mission, Coffeyville, Kan.; Corpus Christi, Tex.; El Paso, Tex.; Utica, N. Y.; Johnstown, Pa.; San Jose, Calif.; Ponca City, Okla.
Jan. 26. Saginaw Valley Baptist Association, Saginaw, Mich.
Jan. 26. Nebraska Council of Churches, Lincoln.
Jan. 26-29. Ohio Pastors' Convention, Columbus.
Jan. 27. Alpena Baptist Association, Alpena, Mich.
Jan. 27-30. Methodist Missionary Council of the Southeastern Jurisdiction and Woman's Society of Christian Service, Nashville, Tenn.
Jan. 28-30. Interdenominational Missionary Assembly, Palm Beach, Fla.
Jan. 29. Conference on Pastoral Counseling, Philadelphia; John S. Bonnell, director.
Jan. 31-Feb. 3. Interdenominational Missionary Assembly, Orlando, Fla.
Feb. 1. Baptist Men's Retreat, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Feb. 1. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Harry A. Overstreet, speaker.
Feb. 2, 3. Interdenominational Missionary Assembly, Winter Park, Fla.
Feb. 2-5. Ministers' Week, Chicago Theological Seminary.
Feb. 2-27. School for Missionaries, Oregon State College, Corvallis.
Feb. 3-5. Disciples Mid-Winter Conference, Lexington, Ky.
Feb. 3-5. Interdenominational Missionary Assembly, DeLand, Fla.
Feb. 4. National Social Hygiene Day.
Feb. 5, 6. Interdenominational Missionary Assembly, Quincy, Fla.
Feb. 6-8. All College Youth Conference, Tallahassee, Fla.
Feb. 8. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Pierre van Paassen, speaker.
Feb. 8. Race Relations Day.
Feb. 8. Sunday Evening Forum, Congregational Church, Oak Park, Ill.; Albert W. Palmer, speaker.
Feb. 8, 9. Interdenominational Missionary Assembly, Tallahassee, Fla.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

FROM LONDON, in the columns of the *Christian World,* comes word that John R. Mott is retiring as chairman of the International Missionary Council. Why Dr. Mott's decision to retire should have first been made known in England, we do not know. But such an announcement will prove startling news to the Protestant world from whatever source. It is not hard to guess why Dr. Mott wants to retire.

John R. Mott To Retire

He is 76 years of age, and for more than fifty years has been carrying a burden of responsibilities which would long ago have broken most men. Yet he is today in the bloom of health and vigor. The churches will feel something closely akin to dismay to hear that he has chosen this particular moment to ask to be relieved. Undoubtedly it is true that the Christian missionary enterprise is entering a period when vast changes will be required in its conception, its methods and its leadership. But while the world crisis remains in its present acute form there will be need for the experience and steadfastness of spirit which the elder statesmanship of Dr. Mott has come to exemplify. It is hardly enough to say that John R. Mott has been a great leader during a transition period in the missionary enterprise; he has been *the* great leader during this period. If he insists on giving up the chairmanship of the International Missionary Council it is unthinkable that the churches will allow him to go into anything like full retirement. His wisdom cannot be spared now.

China Deals Japan Another Blow

ONE'S FIRST IMPULSE is to interpret the Chinese victory at Changsha as evidence that the Japanese have seriously weakened their forces in China in order to carry forward their campaigns on other fronts. But this explanation will hardly stand up in the light of the fact that it was the Japanese who brought on the Changsha battle. Evidently they believed themselves still strong enough to undertake a major offensive in central China. But Chiang Kai-shek's troops have shown that they are now able to trade blow for blow with the invaders, and when those invaders get too far away from their bases are able to give them a little more punishment than the Chinese defenders receive. Given heavy artillery and a strong air force it looks as though China could take the offensive with every prospect of a great success. The Chinese victory at Changsha, however, constituted about the only piece of favorable news from the Orient in an otherwise gloomy week. In Malaya the British continue to retire toward Singapore. Most of the tin mines are now in Japanese hands, and with the occupation of Kuala Lumpur the rubber plantations of the Malay States will be largely captured. Japanese have now begun to land on the islands of the Dutch Indies in force, and the use of Mindanao as a base for these expeditions shows that the Philippines are no longer considered a menace to the Japanese lines of communication. Even the Tokyo staff, we suspect, must be surprised at the speed with which the Japanese drive southward is being carried forward. But the reviving Chinese strength is a real threat in Japan's rear. It would put an entirely new face on the Pacific problem if, after the British and Americans had failed, the Chinese should deliver a fatal blow to Japanese ambitions.

Arthur Holt—a Modern Christian Pioneer

SOMETHING FRESH in viewpoint or in information or in plan always came into the office when Arthur Holt walked in. Protest as he might that he was just dropping by to pass the time of day, he seldom left without planting a few seeds which would later sprout in the editorial columns. Often they were more than seeds; often they were full-grown ideas, such as appeared again and again in the articles which he contributed to these pages. Arthur Holt had learned to conquer aridity in his youth, in the days when his father was among the pioneers who struggled over irrigation rights in Colorado. He must have won that fight in more ways than one, for there were no arid stretches in his mind or in his soul. He was as American as the western frontier on which he grew up, as American as the Kansas, the Texas and the Chicago in which he lived his pioneering career, as American as

Lincoln or Will Rogers or Walt Whitman—to all of whom he seemed in part akin. As Graham Taylor's successor in the chair of Christian social ethics at Chicago Theological Seminary and the divinity school of the University of Chicago he made a tremendous contribution to the understanding of the actual social conditions which today confront the Christian church in America. The Congregational Council for Social Action was his child; he did as much as any other man to awaken the churches to the realities of the rural problem; when death so suddenly struck him down he was looking forward to the day when release from academic duties would make it possible to concentrate on that remarkable experiment in service to a country community which he had fostered in the little Indiana town of Merom. Yet his horizon was world-wide. His long visits to India and his lectureships there, his journeying through Africa and Europe and South America had given him a grasp of the basic problems of world politics and Christian world statesmanship which often produced astonishing intuitions regarding the future of the missionary enterprise. His mind could probe deep, and it could take great leaps ahead. And his faith could sustain the disclosures of his mind. One is almost dismayed in asking where American Protestantism is to look for his successor. But to be dismayed would be to betray his friendship, for there was no dismay in Arthur Holt.

Russia Expects to Make the Peace

CHURCH CIRCLES in this country and Great Britain continue to discuss the bases on which a just and durable peace may be negotiated at the war's end. The most important of these discussions at present are in preparation for the interchurch conference on peace terms which the Federal Council is to hold at Delaware, Ohio, during the first week in March. Such discussion, both by interchurch agencies and in local congregations, is all to the good. The more there is of it, the better. But there is one assumption which underlies most of it, as at present conducted, which will hardly stand close examination. This is the assumption that the peace, when it comes, will be largely a product of Anglo-American thought and will seek to serve common British and American interests. For it becomes more possible with every passing week that the war may turn out in such a way that the British and American governments will have very little to say about the nature of the peace. If Germany is defeated in Europe, it looks more and more as though Russia will do the defeating. And in their dire extremity both the United States and Great Britain are openly hoping that Russia will step in to whip Japan in the Far East. The dispatches which A. T. Steele, best of the American correspondents now in Russia, is sending fom Kuibyshev, are filled with warnings as to the extent to which the Soviet Union expects to dominate the peace, and its displeasure at the way in which it has been ignored at recent Washington conferences. Russia, insists Mr. Steele, believes that it is "in the driver's seat." The Russians "intend to have a great deal to say when the day of reckoning comes." Here is a prospect which must be taken into account. What would a Russian peace be like? Well, at least one forecast can be made with confidence: it would do nothing to hinder the spread of revolutionary movements across Europe and Asia.

Hitler in Retreat

IT IS STILL far too early to conclude that Hitler's offensive power has been broken. It is still too soon to celebrate a nazi rout in Russia. But the Germans are undoubtedly suffering a series of important reverses, both in Russia and in north Africa, and it is possible that these mean that Hitler's power has passed its peak. If it is too early to celebrate, it is not too early to hope. A heavy discount should be attached to reports of internal disaffection in Germany, although the extraordinary act of the Berlin foreign office in calling the correspondents of non-German newspapers from their beds at midnight to deny rumors of incipient revolution suggests that the higher quarters of the nazis must be feeling pressure of some kind. Discount should likewise be placed against reports that Finland is seeking a separate peace. The little Baltic republic is not likely to make peace until the "united nations," as they have now been dubbed, can offer some guarantee of Russia's future policy toward its neighbor. The reports from Russia of mass surrenders by German forces should also be read with the reserve which all war communiques require. Nevertheless, there can be no disguising the fact that German troops are still retreating before the Russian counter-offensive, that changes are still being made in the German command, and that the British campaign in Libya has not only driven General Rommel's forces almost back to French territory but has definitely lifted the threat to Egypt and the Suez from the west. Hitler, in other words, is on the retreat, and although he may rally in the spring sufficiently to offset the military damage which he is now suffering, the psychological damage being inflicted by this proof that he is not invincible will not be easily repaired.

Britain's Only Quarrel With Hitler

ANTHONY EDEN said a good many interesting things in the broadcast report of his visit to Stalin. But it is safe to conjecture that nothing in his speech interested Stalin himself so much as his remarkable revelation of the British attitude toward Hitler. The passage in which the British foreign secretary made this revelation is so important that it must be quoted exactly. "What matters in foreign affairs," said Mr. Eden, "is not the form of the internal government of any nation, but its international behavior. The trouble with Hitler, for instance, was not that he was a nazi at home. The trouble with him was that he would not stay at home." Or in other words, Great Britain has no quarrel with nazism, with totalitarianism, with Hitlerism or with any of the other 'isms' against which the war slogans declaim except when these lead to foreign conquests. For all Mr. Eden and the government

for which he speaks cared, Hitler could have gone on indefinitely killing Jews, persecuting Christian pastors, imprisoning German liberals—if he had only stayed at home. It was his embarkation on foreign adventures that made him the enemy of England. In this, Mr. Eden's view seems to coincide with that of Sir Nevile Henderson, the British ambassador to Berlin who mourned the "failure of a mission." Conceivably such a statement could have been inserted in Mr. Eden's speech as an invitation to other, and home-staying, nazis to get rid of their führer and make a peace. But if it was not that, then it was an illuminating disclosure of the real issue as Britain sees it. And if it be objected that Mr. Eden is not to be taken too seriously because he is a Tory, then two things are to be said: first, that the Tories still dominate the British government, and second, that none of the other parties have repudiated the Eden statement.

Pearl Buck Protests

PEARL BUCK has spoken a much-needed word of protest and warning to *Time* magazine—a word that should be taken to heart by the entire American press. Referring to *Time's* use of the terms "yellow bastards" and "Hitler's little yellow friends," the author of *The Good Earth* wrote: "The tide of feeling about color runs very high over in the Orient. Indians, Chinese, Filipinos and others are sensitive to the danger point about their relation as colored peoples to white peoples. Many Americans do not realize this, but it is true, and we must recognize it or we may suffer for it severely." To Mrs. Buck's warning that all such color-conscious talk is grist for Japan's propaganda mill in the Far East, *Time* makes a halting reply. It claims that it was only reporting common American comment, and that the word "probably came to the tongues of many men in its strongest meaning—one of moral censure rather than race prejudice—for 'yellow' has long been the word for cowardice and treachery." Such an explanation only succeeds in making a bad matter worse. It reveals the pervasiveness of the very thing against which Mrs. Buck was protesting. Why should "yellow" be a term of moral censure, or "white" a term of honor? Why, except for our race snobbery? We Westerners must get rid of that sort of thing or we will succeed in uniting a large part of humanity against us.

American Republics Must Decide

SUMNER WELLES and the delegation which he heads at the pan-American conference which opened at Rio de Janeiro January 15 have a delicate and difficult task. Pan-American negotiations are always delicate and difficult, for the more than a score of republics in this hemisphere differ widely in their interests, situations and political ideas. Now it is important that they agree upon policies for insuring their security. Some of them still believe that a cautious neutrality is enough if combined with satisfactory commercial arrangements for trade, especially with the United States, which is the best customer of all of them and the chief source of supply for the things they need. There is always a tendency in these conferences to concentrate on economic questions and evade political issues. It was so at Havana and at Lima. But it is now apparent, even more than at these previous conferences, that these two kinds of problems cannot be separated. War has already come to North America, and there can be no hemispheric collaboration for anything without taking that fact into account. The Argentine foreign minister has expressed the disinclination of his government to take any steps which might imply or lead to belligerency toward the Axis powers, and has stressed "the brotherhood of South American republics" as the primary fact. The Chilean and Uruguayan spokesmen repudiate this limitation and insist that the American cause is one—South, Central and North. The concrete questions with which the conference will have to do are such as these: measures for curbing the penetration of Axis powers in America; the extension of the benefits of a benevolent non-belligerency to Great Britain as an ally of the United States; possible joint action in breaking diplomatic relations with the Axis powers or declaring war upon them. These are all thorny questions. It is possible, however, that after the delegates at Rio de Janeiro have spent a few days in common discussion they may find themselves closer together than they had believed when the conference opened.

Servants of Genuine Understanding

POST-WAR politics will confront few problems of more consequence for world stability than India, historically the keystone in the arch of colonialism. Like most others, the solution then attained for the problem of India will be vitally affected by decisions now being made and movements now developing. Whitehall knows that, and is deeply concerned over the fact that in spite of the war a new unity is emerging which seems to have brought even Indian conservatives of yesterday around to the point of view of the National Congress. This is the background for recent news which is brought to readers of The Christian Century (see page 89) by P. Oomman Philip, our staff correspondent in India. Even without censorship, it would be difficult to provide in a few hundred words a better description of the way in which Indians of all parties and religions are being unified in opposition to continuation of the present order by finding themselves in what Mr. Philip says one conservative has called a struggle between the instincts of self-preservation and self-respect. We commend to readers who are concerned with the background of events a careful study of this report. It provides another excellent illustration of the important service which the staff correspondents of The Christian Century have been giving our readers since the outbreak of the war. We believe that this service has been rendered, in spite of the manifold difficulties of censorship, of personal insecurity, of difficulties of communication, in the highest tradition of responsible journalism. Constantly our correspondents have provided extremely important news to be read nowhere else. We have only to name Brum-

baugh, Walser, Shillito, Gueron, Philip, Allen, Patrick, Camargo, Carstairs, Phelps, Montgomery and Tate to bring to mind the far corners of the world which are illuminated for readers of these pages by the insight of these men. While some of these correspondents obviously labor under grave handicaps, the editors are sure that thousands will join with them in this expression of appreciation of their intelligence and courage.

Crucified on the Same Cross

TO PARAPHRASE a title of Robert Browning's, this might be called an incident of the American camp. It happened on a recent Monday morning in a preachers' meeting held not a thousand miles from the editorial office of this paper. The speaker had been trying to bring to light some of the more hidden factors and problems behind the war in the Far East. Among other things he had mentioned the race angle, and as a passing aside had remarked that he sometimes wondered whether Americans, with their hypocrisy on racial questions, were much better on that issue than the nazis. As the question period was closing a clerical brother objected: "By what right did the speaker say that we are no better than the nazis?" Before the speaker could frame his reply a Negro minister rose. "May I answer that question?" he asked. "A few days ago my little girl came home from school and said to her mother, 'Mother, I just hate those wicked Japs!' When her mother asked her why she said such a thing she answered, 'My teacher has been telling us in school all about what wicked people those Japs are, and how we must see if any of our toys were made in Japan and, if they were, destroy them.'" Here the Negro minister turned to face his entire audience of clerical colleagues. "What am I to tell my little girl?" he demanded. "What am I to say to her, this little girl of mine who is being taught by the American school system to crucify the Japanese on the same cross on which she herself is being crucified?"

Is Rumania to Be 'Freed' For Carol's Benefit?

ALL possible respect and credence are due to the various exiled governments of the "free" French, Poles, Netherlanders, Austrians and the rest, insofar as they represent the will of their peoples and are the centers of substantial resistance to the power which has overwhelmed their countries. But when the mercurial and undependable ex-King Carol, now resident in Mexico, wants to establish himself either in the United States or in Canada as the head of the "free Rumania" movement and as once more a king, the thing becomes preposterous. It is a known fact that he is not wanted in Great Britain, and a fair guess that Canada would consider him an embarrassment. Our state department is reported to have told the British government that it would not give him a visa to come here, and the British government urged Mexico to make him keep his promise to refrain from political activity. Everybody has at least a few friends, and perhaps Carol has some among Rumanians of the dispersion, but the former Rumanian minister who now heads the committee of "Rumanian Democrats" in Washington has said that that organization has neither time nor place for him. Carol claims that he did not abdicate in favor of his son but merely put the government in his hands temporarily; and now that Michael is under Hitler's thumb he wants to take it back. What he says about Michael being a "prisoner of the Germans and of Antonescu" is doubtless true enough. Nor will anyone deny that Antonescu is a "lackey of Hitler" and does not represent the true sentiments of the country's people. But does Carol? He certainly does not. He was a focus of infection in his country even before Hitler cast his shadow over Europe. Nothing in his career as king became him like the leaving of it, and he has left it more than once. Not that he did it with any special grace, but his leaving was always a relief. Whatever organization the "free Rumanians" may set up will have troubles enough at best without the incubus of Carol. He has never been anything but a liability, and his leadership would insure the political bankruptcy of the movement.

Fighting Two Wars

MILITARY MEN always warn against two-front or two-ocean wars. The United States is now involved in such a war—a war which must not only be carried on across two oceans but which the President says may have to be fought at "a dozen points of combat." Strategically, the position in which this places this nation is even more difficult than that of Germany, which is also fighting a two-front war against the wishes of its army commanders. The nazis have found the problem of maintaining a battlefront in Russia, at about six hundred miles' distance from their army bases, and in north Africa, across the narrow Mediterranean, too severe a strain upon their lines of supply. The United States is entering a struggle in which its lines of supply will be anywhere from three thousand to nine thousand miles long, thrust across submarine infested oceans.

So enormous is the potential strength of this country, however, that it can face the test of such a two-front war with confidence. Far more cause for disquiet is to be found in the prospect of fighting two wars at once. Not two wars in terms of geography or space, not two wars in terms of differing opponents, but two wars in terms of differing purposes and conceptions. Behind the bold and stirring message with which the President awakened not only Congress but the whole nation to the stupendous nature of the task ahead lurked this prospect. Only a little reflection upon the President's words is required to show that the executive mind is thinking of two kinds of struggle, to be carried on simultaneously but for very different ends.

In addressing Congress Mr. Roosevelt raised a rallying cry, in the first instance, to the war which must be fought to defend the nation, to preserve our independence, to

protect American territory against attack and invasion. This is the war to which, as the President said, "the response of the American people has been instantaneous." When he declared that this war "will be sustained until our security is assured," he was making a promise which the overwhelming majority of his countrymen unhesitatingly endorse. It is this war which has roused the national will to sacrifice. If this war brings in its train staggering taxes, lowered living standards, stricken homes, the nation will accept that fate grimly but resolutely.

But there was another war in the President's mind as he spoke those words meant to be heard around the world. The closest he came to explicit acknowledgment of this second war occurred in the passage in which he dedicated the nation to the establishment of his familiar Four Freedoms "everywhere in the world." But the prospect of this second war, a war far more extensive in scope and involving far greater commitments than a war simply for the defense of the United States, lay implicitly behind the most vital portions of the presidential message. It is this war which is to send American soldiers, sailors and airmen all over the globe to establish a new world order. It is this war which is not only to make this nation both armorer and principal fighter on a dozen fronts, but is to eventuate in the assumption of a responsibility to "maintain the security of the peace that will follow." There is reason to believe that the American people are still unaware of the realities and commitments of this second war.

In other words, in addition to calling upon the nation to rally for its own defense the President's message to Congress pledged his country to a world-wide war of unlimited liability. This second war, this war of unlimited liability, is a war to secure the interests of all our allies—the President specifically mentioned Great Britain, Russia, China, the Dutch and all the governments in exile—and to establish freedoms which never have been known in most of the lands to which our forces and our weapons are to be sent. And after the gigantic struggle which any such accomplishment must involve, the United States is then to employ its power to maintain the peace which will follow.

There is more than a little significance in the fact that the London press, in praising the President's message with its prophecy of American expeditions to a dozen fronts, placed its principal stress on this promise that the United States would underwrite the peace. To be sure, Mr. Churchill had already foreshadowed some such promise in the closing passages of his now historic address to Congress. But President Roosevelt made the promise explicit. If the pledges of his message are fulfilled, the United States will not only underwrite the entire conflict "everywhere in the world"; it will likewise underwrite the ensuing peace. And what is the nature of that peace to be? That now becomes a question of the utmost importance for the people of the United States—and it is a question for which their government is leaving them largely without an answer.

Reference to the Atlantic Charter does not help us much. The third point in that document does, it is true, hold out the hope that "all peoples" are to have the right "to choose the form of government under which they will live." But Mr. Churchill has already excluded India and the other British colonies from any benefits of this provision. The peace which the United States is to underwrite, accordingly, is to be a peace which maintains the British empire intact for all the future. How about the other empires? Are they also to be kept as they are? Is the French empire to continue to hold huge portions of Asia and Africa and Oceania? Is the Italian empire to survive as it entered the war? Is the Japanese empire to be made secure? Hardly! Then what is to happen? Is there to be a general grab-fest, a general division of spoils among victorious nations—with the United States stepping forward to guarantee the lucky ones undisputed possession of the spoils for all the future?

And what about the peace which is to be maintained in Europe? Such light as is cast on that dark question increasingly indicates that it may be a peace which will not only restore all the welter of competing states which made pre-war Europe an economic nightmare, but that this confusion is to be worse confounded by breaking Germany up into bits and thus adding to the Continent's general atomization. Yet all experience warns that hope of economic prosperity and stability in such a Europe is chimerical. Moreover, the Punic peace which is foreshadowed for Germany can be counted on to sow those same seeds of hatred, plotting and thirst for revenge which such peaces have always sown.

To those who have hoped for a better day after this war, freed from the plagues let loose by Versailles, there must have been something distinctly ominous in the recent swift growth of demands for a post-war military occupation and partition of Germany. This, we are solemnly assured, is to be purgatorial, almost religious, in motivation. It is on that basis that the Archbishop of York has given it his powerful support. It is to be punishment in the name of justice. But the justice of military conquest and occupation is never justice. It is tyranny, and it breeds inevitable revolt.

We have become more than ever apprehensive as to the nature of the European peace since reading the article on "The Organization of Post-War Europe" which President Benes of Czechoslovakia contributes to the current (January) number of the quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*. Our apprehension grows out of the fact that Mr. Benes represents the best in European statesmanship. If there is to be found any liberality of outlook, any largeness of spirit, any farsightedness and historical insight among Europe's leaders, it should be sought in Mr. Benes. But the Benes proposal for a post-war organization of the Continent simply boils down to a reconstitution of the Europe formed at Versailles, plus the dismemberment of Germany.

Space does not suffice to discuss at present the prospect in such a continent. But with two great armed powers on either flank whose interests will inevitably diverge as sharply as will those of Great Britain and Russia from the day the fighting stops, and with the center of the continent occupied by a jumble of small, embittered, taut-nerved states whose future will depend in large degree upon their success in playing off the dominant powers against each other, Europe will be even farther from stability than it was after Versailles. The fact that these states would be too weak to threaten military trouble does

not mean that they could not create plenty of political and economic trouble. Moreover, this totality of economic and social instability would be rendered even more insecure by the operations of the revolutionary forces loosed by victory for Russia.

The only possible way in which such a European peace could be "maintained"—to use the word in President Roosevelt's pledge—would be by constant policing, which would require enormous outlays in arms and forces and demand instant readiness to resort to iron-handed repression. Yet this is the prospect for the people of the United States, unless their President can give them specific assurance that the peace to follow this war in Europe is to be of an entirely different nature from the peace now being so widely called for in Great Britain and among the governments in exile.

We repeat, therefore, what we said at the beginning. The people of the United States have accepted the burden of fighting one war—a war which they are convinced is for their own freedom and security. They have gone into this war reluctantly, hating it, but believing that once in they are left no alternative. They will fight this war through to a finish. But if, beyond this war, they find themselves fighting still another war, a war to preserve some empires and to destroy and divide up others, a war to arrange a new balance of power in Europe and then to pave the way for a peace which can endure only if they police it indefinitely, how long will the present unity of the national will, how long will the present readiness to make enormous national sacrifices, persist?

War is Not Sin; It is Hell!

WHEN General Sherman declared that war is hell he spoke, no doubt, half-expletively and half-descriptively. But, whether he intended it or not, he also spoke theologically, and with theological precision. In adopting his words our purpose, while embracing his flash of realistic insight, is to expound the theological implications of his famous ejaculation. Hell, we shall affirm, is the ultimate category through which to understand the nature of modern war. This is the deliberate affirmation to which a succession of editorials has now led us.

Three distinct steps have marked the movement of our argument to this point. The first step was our recognition of a fact: that war is now a necessity, that we are all involved in it, that we are all fighting in it—pacifists and non-pacifists, those who opposed its coming and those who urged or provoked its coming—we are all so organically implicated in the solidarity of our national community that we cannot detach ourselves from its total war by any technicality of refusal or protest, however noble as "witness" such an attempt may be.

When the nation was struck and struck back, the question of war passed out of the range of contingency or possibility and became from that point on a necessity. That it was an unnecessary necessity does not qualify the fact of its necessity. The Christian Century held that it was unnecessary, and still so believes. We believed and still believe that our government could have chosen a higher role than it did. The pages of this paper are the record of our effort to influence it to do so. We expect to be confronted by this record when the war is over, and without shame—save that we did no more and no better. No substantial part of the total record would we now delete.

The second step was our interpretation of the national necessity as tragedy. Of the many forms of tragedy, that one fitted war best in which the hero has sinned away his moral freedom by making wrong prior decisions whose consequences inexorably close in upon his will and his conscience, leaving him no choice but to extricate himself by doing monstrous evil. This is the kind of tragedy that modern war is. The nation, including every citizen, is now bound by its own free decisions which it made prior to the war. It has committed itself to war. It is no longer free to choose alternatives—there is no alternative. To be thus bound, we said, is tragedy. It is fate, inexorable fate, whose web has been woven partly, if not chiefly, by our own hands.

Our third step was to carry these two concepts of necessity and tragedy up to the level of Christian faith. There we asked the question: What does such tragic necessity mean when viewed, as the Christian must view all things, in the light of God's relation to it? And our answer was: It means that the war is God's judgment upon us for our disobedience and guilt in making the kind of world which is so flagrantly defiant of his righteous will. Only as we bring the war under the category of God's judgment can we understand its necessity and its tragedy. The war is not our disobedience; it is the terrible fruit of our disobedience—it is our necessity, an unnecessary necessity, therefore a guilty necessity, a tragedy in which our wills are so bound that there is no alternative but to fight. Our fighting, though necessary, is not righteous. God does not command us to fight; he *condemns* us to fight. His condemnation, written with our own hands, is that we must slay our human brothers and be slain by them.

This condemnation, we now affirm, is hell.

I

If, as we said last week, our Christian thought is in great need of recovering the almost obsolete biblical concept of the "wrath of God," it is equally important that we reaccustom our minds to the concept of hell. We can leave on one side, as irrelevant to our present discussion, the old controversies about hell as a place of *future* punishment, together with the question as to its duration—whether everlasting, or terminable by extinction or ultimate redemption. In any case, the traditional conception of hell is largely post-biblical, having only fragmentary and dubious suggestions in the Scriptures to sustain it. Catholic theology has unduly capitalized the idea of a future hell in exercising the church's control of the conscience of its members. And John Milton's poetic genius invested the idea with such a fantasia of imagery that it actually molded the thought of Protestant puritanism as though it had been derived from Holy Writ. But even those

who reject such conceptions or understand them as poetry do not thereby get rid of the reality which underlies them.

In her able and invaluable article, "If I Make My Bed in Hell," in last week's issue of The Christian Century, Dr. Georgia Harkness brings to our attention with rare sympathy the empirical fact that innumerable people are consigned by circumstances or physiological conditions to a living hell of shorter or longer duration. When, however, we now affirm that war is hell, we are using the word in its fuller and more precise sense, as God's moral judgment upon man for sins of omission and commission of which man is directly and consciously guilty. A truly Christian hell implies moral guilt. And nothing is more evident than that modern man approaches his wars with a bad conscience. He knows that he has brought them upon himself. The very idealism with which he clothes his so-called war aims—a war "to end war," to establish the "four freedoms" and such like—is a confession that he could have realized these aims *without war* if he had gone about it soon enough and with a genuine will to establish freedom and justice in the world.

War is hell, because it is God's judgment upon the nations for their sins, for having done those things they ought not to have done and having left undone those things they ought to have done. Hell is not sin; it is the punishment for sin. So war is not sin, but the wages of sin. Whether one thinks of hell in the imagery of old school theology or in terms of our actual experience in this world, its essential principle inheres in the fact that man has come under the condemnation of God because his will has come into collision with the will of God. This is what hell is, now or in some future life. And this is what war is.

The churches have made many pronouncements on war in the past two decades. But their pronouncements have tended to be an expression of their emotional horror of war rather than of discriminating theological thought. The most widely used of these utterances is that of the Federal Council of Churches which declared that "war is the world's chief collective sin." This moralistic conception of war has generated widespread confusion. It is the ground of the tension between pacifists and non-pacifists in the Christian fellowship. The pacifist accepts the statement as the truth and draws the inevitable conclusion: therefore I can have no part in war. The non-pacifist is unable to deny the proposition, which in the abstract seems to him self-evident, but he cannot escape the stark fact that war, when it is actually here, takes the form of a necessity which engulfs the whole community, including the pacifist as well as himself. So he is compelled to resort to the most cunning ingenuities of logic to reconcile sin and necessity.

He assumes that if war is a necessity, the will of God must have something to do with it. There must, then, be something righteous about it in spite of its being sin. Naturally, he locates this element of righteousness in the righteous cause for which his own nation is fighting. (He quite disregards the fact that Christians in the enemy countries use the same logic with diametrically opposite conclusions.) War, he concedes, is sin, but the righteousness of his nation's cause makes his participation in the war *less* sinful than the sin of the enemy. Therefore this particular war, though a sin, is a sort of righteous sin, and God commands us to commit it. Our protection against the wrath of God for committing so terrible a sin is to recognize that it is a sin—though a righteous one which God commands—and report to God in repentance for committing it, thereby receiving the divine forgiveness and "justification by faith."

It is difficult to say whether this moralistic conception of war as sin has wrought more confusion through the simple logic of the pacifists or through the incredibly ingenious logic of our war-minded theologians. But that it is responsible for much of the obfuscation of the church's mind, there can be no question. The Oxford Conference moved slightly away from this naive moralism, and in the right direction, but failed to arrive at an unambiguous goal. It said: "War is a particular demonstration of the power of sin in this world and a defiance of the righteousness of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and him crucified."

To say that war is a "demonstration" of the power of sin, is an advance over the statement that war is sin. But the vocabulary of the Oxford formula leaves it unclear whether (a) the sin is inherent in the demonstration or (b) the demonstration is the end result of the sin, its manifestation in terms of its terrible consequences. The formula leans toward the former interpretation when it adds that war "is a *defiance* of the righteousness of God." The defiance of God's righteousness, we are insisting, is not the war, but what we did and did not do before the war. The war is God's judgment upon us for our defiance of his righteousness while the pacific processes of history were still open and available.

II

We shall not get ahead in our efforts to rid the world of war by making war itself a prime matter of conscience —whether in the pacifist's way or in the militarist theologian's way. For conscience to focus its attention upon actual war on the assumption that its burden lies *there,* is to drain off the full sense of moral responsibility from the pacific processes of history where the true burden of conscience does lie. This statement holds no less for the casuistical theologian who keeps God handy in order to comfort and absolve the guilty conscience for the righteous sin of fighting than for the pacifist who imagines that he can escape the judgment of God by not fighting. War is hell; and in hell conscience does not function according to the canons of right and wrong. It can project no course that is good and reject no course that is evil.

Nobody in hell calls hell a sin. By the same token war cannot be called a sin. Nobody imagines that it is his "duty" to "renounce" hell, once he is in it. Likewise war can be renounced only before we get into it, that is, while there is peace. No one in hell thinks of "bearing witness" against hell, by refusing to take part in *some* of its functions. No one in hell thinks it necessary to call certain of its functions "righteous" in order to engage in them. And certainly no one in hell imagines that he must justify any of his hellish activities by getting the approval of God.

The only sin against which a soul in hell can bear witness is the sin that brought him there. The only righteous-

ness to which he can bear witness is the righteousness of God's judgment in condemning him to the hell in which he now finds himself. Hell is that realm or condition or situation—call it what you will—temporary or enduring —here or hereafter—where good and evil have lost their distinction, where evil is good and good is evil. This is precisely what war is, and total war answers this description in amazingly full detail.

III

When it is said that war is hell, the word is used in its quantitative as well as its qualitative significance. The empirical consequences of all our sins are, of course, the judgment of God. These consequences could, in principle, be described as hell. But the concept is rightly reserved for application to consequences of great magnitude, which extend beyond our private lives and profoundly involve whole communities or the nation or the world. Hell exists when and where the moral order has broken down on such a vast scale that man's feet can find no righteous ground upon which to stand. The pillars and beams of the structure within which right and wrong have meaning, have fallen. There is no bottom to hell. In its most vivid and precise description it is called the "bottomless pit." It is this quantitative as well as the qualitative measure that equates war with hell.

In modern war the whole moral order of society is inverted and perverted. Total war means that civilization, whose normal orientation is toward human welfare and more abundant life, is now oriented toward destruction and death. A nation at war has to wheel every interest and activity of the community into line with its destructive undertaking. Industry is regimented with soldierly precision to make the tools and equipment of death. The soil of the good earth is corrupted from God's genial purpose to become the bearer of the means of devastation and famine worse than death. Business turns its profits into the channels of destruction. Manhood is conscripted. The universities deliver their laboratories to forms of research which promise the invention of new techniques for the hellish business of mass murder.

The lie becomes the truth; the truth, a lie. The press, the movie and the radio are converted from agencies of information and entertainment into agencies for the propaganda of hatred. Legislatures become rubber stamps of the commander-in-chief or the dictator. Statesmen and publicists who opposed the nation's policy which led to war instantly drop their opposition and consecrate themselves to the holy cause of "turning hell loose" upon the enemy. Public opinion and social pressure see to it that no draftee or other citizen shirks his part in the total implementation of the national community as it goes forth on its stupendous mission of devastation and slaughter.

Behind the statesmen, the intellectuals hold conferences and round tables and exchange articles, if perchance they can find out what their country is fighting for. It is not enough to say that we are fighting for the preservation of our national existence and independence, which is the truth and the whole truth. But the simple truth is not sufficient. It leaves the door open for too many to ask how our national existence came to be put up as a pawn at the mercy of brute force. That question may not now be raised. In order to keep it down, it must be proclaimed that we are fighting not only for ourselves, but for others, and our intellectuals must formulate this holy cause in words that can be invested with verisimilitude. As for the past, we must now remember only Pearl Harbor.

While the intellectuals seek for fine phrases, a new vocabulary of brutality and vulgarity, which would cause a longshoreman to blush, becomes current in popular speech. Great statesmen adopt it—indeed they create some of its most picturesque coinage. Foul epithets of contempt fall with no apology from their lips. Addressing parliament or congress or reichstag or diet, they use the language of the prize ring and the bull fight. Like vulgar pugilists in interviews on the night before their slug-fest, they ask the world to feel their magnificent muscle and boast swaggeringly of what the enemy may expect when their armies and ships and planes meet him on land or sea or in the air. As for ourselves—we are the agents of liberty, of democracy, of the four freedoms, and our armies are the anointed missionaries of Christianity, spreading its truth and its blessing everywhere in the world.

The picture of course requires a description of the fighting front. For this task our pen has not the skill, nor our stomach the strength. If the morning paper is read with even a glint of imagination, each reader will supply this part of the picture for himself. But he will have to translate what he reads into terms of human flesh and blood and of the moral values which war turns upside down. For it is the very genius of war that it throws a veil over the human beings it crushes, and the moral verities it perverts—a veil of romance and poetry and heroism and even of religion. The suffering, the violence, the inhumanity, the bestiality, the horror, the moral chaos of war—all these beggar description. And a nation at war does not allow them to be described. Instead, it visualizes its war as an abstraction. It is a colossal game. It is seen in terms of maps and stratagems, with reports of gains and losses of "ground," with statistics of "casualties," of "offensives" and "strategic retreats." The people are kept excited about the game. Their minds are for the moment mercifully diverted from the truth which, if it were pictured with even restrained realism, would be more than the human spirit could bear.

This, we say with all literalness, is hell. And we have not touched upon the callousing of humane sensibilities, the stoppage of the springs of pity, the breeding of hatred, the releasal of lusts, the constriction and hardening of conscience, the confusion and dethronement of faith—not alone at the front but throughout the whole population. Nor have we touched upon the entail of moral and spiritual degradation which follows the fighting. Looking upon the whole scene of war, what other category known to human thought befits it save to call it hell? It is not sin—it is too vast, too cosmic, too impersonal and too bottomless to be called sin. To call it righteous is monstrous. To call it sin is infantile. To recognize war as God's condemnation for sin is the beginning of our salvation.

Preparation for the Peace

By Oswald Garrison Villard

WRITING in his December issue, the editor of the British review, the *Nineteenth Century and After,* says: "The Germans, and not only Hitler, have a clear conception of what they want—a clear conception of the war, and a clear conception of the peace they mean to establish when it is over. The English have no clear conception, either of the war or of the peace to follow. This is in the nature of things and, more especially, in the English character. It is the English way. It may turn out to be the better way. Events alone can show." What this Englishman has written of his own country can similarly be said of Americans, though of course President Roosevelt would promptly assert that he has a clear idea of the war which he means to wage and of the peace to follow. Indeed, in his message to Congress he gave his understanding of what our part in the war is to be—fighting all over the globe wherever the enemy is to be found and hitting him again and again—and he asserted, with Hitlerian confidence, that this time we shall win the peace.

That this latter statement is true must be the hope of every thoughtful American. I met two prominent businessmen on the train the other day, one of them the head of a great company which a few months ago was very much in the news. I asked them what they saw ahead. Simultaneously, as if rehearsed, they both replied: "Fog." They were sure that we shall win the war at a terrific cost, but they did not get excited until the talk turned on the peace to come. Then they flamed up and said that, by this and that, America would see to it that *this* time there wasn't an English-made peace, but a peace that would give America the assurance that this horror could never happen again, that we should not for a third time be dragged into hostilities by the blunders and follies of British statesmen, plus the wickedness of self-appointed German leaders. Their passion, which I have found echoed in other quarters, was altogether heartening.

Ground for Common Counsel

It is deeply significant that most of the peace organizations with which I am familiar are turning their attention to the question of preparing their programs for the peace and the world to come. This may be Hobson's choice, for there is not much else that peace organizations can do now. But it is nonetheless the right choice and all-important. We must organize public opinion in this country for a peace that will be so just and so wise that it will be self-enforcing. That truly means a making over of the world in many respects, and the combined wisdom of multitudes will be needed to chart that. It ought to be the favorite indoor sport of every internationally minded organization, indeed of every patriotic organization, and I am sure that it will be found that there are far fewer differences between interventionists and isolationists—to use, for the last time, I hope, these unpleasant words that never really described the two groups—than one would suppose.

I am strengthened in this belief by experience in a day and a half's conference at the Town Hall in New York with a dozen men of varying opinions from the extreme pacifist point of view to belligerent League of Nations advocates, including some who would have been glad to go to war that day. We met at breakfast and for two hours both mornings carried on our discussion in the presence of a considerable audience who had part of our time in which to send questions up to us. The result of our deliberation was such as to astound the veteran moderator of the Town Hall, George V. Denny. We found a least common denominator in the form of a general statement to which we could each subscribe, and it was not composed of glittering generalities and platitudes.

A Basis for Discussion

The basis for this was a draft proposal formulated by three of us as a sub-committee on the first evening. That draft now represents only our particular point of view, and of course in no way binds anybody else. I am bold enough to think that whatever its limitations it has enough of worth in it to make it possible for me to offer it to the readers of The Christian Century for possible use when they themselves come to the discussion of what they think the peace should be (I hope everyone who reads this article will feel that he or she has no more important duty than to set his fellow Americans, wherever they may be, to talking and thinking about this vast problem). One of the worst phases of the First World War was that preparations for the peace were in the hands of the committee of college professors and experts handpicked by Colonel House. They were not an official body, but somewhat semi-official. They played off their own bats so much that they had no real touch with the state department or the government, so that when they reached Paris there was anything but unanimity in the American delegation.

Today the government has not moved in this direction beyond setting up in the state department a committee headed by former Ambassador Hugh Wilson, to prepare data for the actual procedure. So far as I have been able to ascertain this committee is not functioning. Indeed in the madhouse which is Washington few seem to be thinking along these lines because they are all working their heads off in specific and immediate jobs, and are too exhausted when they return home at all hours to think about anything beyond the present. This is again another reason why every national organization, religious or philanthropic or social, should have its committee to deal with the subject. If it does nothing else than to set up a forum to be addressed by speakers of varying opinions, it will still make a solid contribution. And I for one would not prevent their having speakers sharing the views of the editor of the *Nineteenth Century,* who is certain (and he resided for years in Germany) that "Germany cannot be kept disarmed, her defeat cannot be perpetuated, and the third world war cannot be averted if the main foundations

of her armed strength, that is to say her national unity and her industrial resources, are left intact." This form of error cannot be heard and refuted too soon.

For a World Authority

But to the program I am bold enough to offer in connection with Frederick J. Libby and John Torpats, the author of a challenging book, *The Economic Bases of the Peace,* that ought widely to be made required reading. Here it is:

A

Restoration of the political independence of all conquered and militarily occupied countries, subject to such changes as may be necessitated by the developments of the war.

B

Immediate progressive disarmament on land and sea and in the air by all nations, victors and vanquished, alike. An international police force of moderate size established by the consent of, and with the cooperation of, all nations and controlled by the world authority.

C

Free access to raw materials and to all markets and trade routes, in order to bring about full employment of capital and labor everywhere in the world.

D

An international temporary World Commission on which all countries shall be represented equally by non-political delegates free to choose an executive committee for one year.

This executive committee shall exercise such authority as shall be delegated to it for the purpose of disarmament and the policing of the world in order to restore law and order and to develop existing world machinery and to create new organizations out of which there shall evolve a permanent world authority. The existing institutions to be utilized and the new ones to be created shall be the following:

1. The World Court.
2. An International Tariff Union.
3. An International Monetary Union.
4. An International Banking Union (through evolution of the Bank of International Settlement).
5. An International Investment Union.
6. An International Labor Office.
7. The international humanitarian services of the League of Nations, such as the suppression of the white slave and narcotics trades, the advancement of international health, and the protection of minorities.
8. The international control of colonies by world authority acting as trustee for the native populations pending self-government.
9. An International Communications Union to regulate mails, cables, the radio, and international land, sea and air transportation.
10. An international commission to supervise the resettlement of refugees and to deal with all population problems.

It will be noticed that in suggesting a World Authority the committee proposes to build upon existing machinery in the belief that the mistake ought not to be made again of seeking to impose a world government from above by the victors in the struggle. Any such move will immediately call forth a recrudescence of the bitter opposition of many groups and of a large section of the press which do not believe that we should give up one bit of our national sovereignty. It will certainly not meet the approval of those committed to the folly of having the Anglo-Saxon nations and a few of their pals and beneficiaries take over the federation of the world. The committee believes that from the beginning the vanquished should take part in the reorganization of the world.

The committee further felt that people do not realize how much world machinery has survived the collapse of the League of Nations, or was in existence outside of the league even before it was constituted. It wishes to stress the *evolution* of whatever world organization is to be set up. It is perhaps the first to suggest a temporary world commission as the necessary authority to bridge over the terrible first years after the war when there will be starvation and disintegration and complete social dislocation, when it will be a question as to how the peoples can be fed and how the war machinery can be turned back to peaceful pursuits. While it is not specifically stated here, its members, I believe, favor the maintenance and use of some of the war bodies which have been or may be set up in the course of the struggle. For example, there will most certainly soon be a world shipping commission which will handle all the ships of the Allies as one fleet, and there will doubtless be reconstituted the Allied world trade board of the last war which, except for the then Central Powers, proved that it is possible to allocate raw materials according to their needs to all the nations of the earth—a piece of machinery which many feel should never have been allowed to die when peace came.

Unshackle All Trade

As for plank C, which means free trade all over the world, there is fortunately a rapidly increasing number of Americans who have come to realize that there can be no real peace until trade is wholly unshackled. As this article is written there is news in the daily press that our government is again to ask for the abolition of some tariff barriers so that there will be no hampering of the international war effort of which the United States is the head. If I am correctly informed, both Canada and the United States are practically overlooking the tariffs, forgetting to enforce the tariff laws in their exchange of war material as arranged by Mr. Roosevelt and Premier King. That is right and proper.

I know that there will be innumerable cynics and many sympathizers, too, who will say that all this presupposes an Allied victory and that we must first catch our hare. I admit that no one can foresee what will come out of this war, and that it is by no means impossible if it goes on long enough that there will be such complete prostration that it will not be possible to hold a peace conference, or even to set up a single body to pick up the pieces. Upon that horrible possibility we must not let our minds rest. It is especially the duty of all who opposed our entrance into this war not to conjure up visions of complete disaster, but to plan in the faith and hope that after this holocaust the nations will be prepared once and for all to abjure war because of the complete demonstration that the globe simply cannot survive a repetition of it after another twenty-five year period of similar progress in the development of the means of human destruction.

Japanese Christianity and Shinto Nationalism—III

Is State Shinto a Religion?

By D. C. Holtom

IN THE fifty-sixth session of the Japanese Imperial Diet which met during the winter and early spring of 1928-29, the problem of the relationship of State Shinto and religion was brought up for discussion. An interpellator asked the government for an explanation of the official contention that Shrine Shinto was not a religion. The chief of the Bureau of Shrines, speaking for the government, said in reply:

> Scholars differ among themselves in their opinions regarding this problem and their conclusions are not at all united. When, however, we come to the matter of determining the position of the Shinto shrines under national law for the purpose of the consideration either of the regulations governing religious organizations or of those concerning the administration of the shrines, then the decision is made entirely on the basis of whether or not under Japanese legal administration the Shinto shrines are treated as religion. When we examine the shrines from the point of view of law, we find that the various regulations are not set up as if the shrines were regarded as religious institutions. The shrines are established through the agency of the state for the official observation of rites in honor of various *kami* (deities) who have rendered most distinguished service in the creation of Japan. These include the imperial ancestors as well as other personages. That is to say, the shrines are different from the various religious institutions of all kinds. They are the official institutions of the state. If we could apply the term "building structure," we might say that they are the building structures of the nation. Consequently it is not difficult to understand that the state should conduct rites in these shrines as instruments of the national life. The prayers and supplications that are offered at the shrines are a natural outcome of a spontaneous accompaniment of the shrines. It is therefore not proper to say that they are the essence of the shrine system or that the nature of the shrines should be determined on this point.

This statement is thoroughly typical of all governmental elucidation of the Shinto issue. It could be reproduced many times from recent official utterances. When pressed for an explanation of why State Shinto is not a religion, the civil authorities invariably fall back on the same position: whatever the pronouncements of experts who speak from the point of view of the nature of religion and the historical manifestations of Shinto may be, the shrines are not treated as religion in matters of legal control and organization. There is no law or regulation which says in so many words that State Shinto is not a religion; there is merely a governmental convenience which keeps the state cult distinct from all recognized religions in affairs of legal administration.

A Japanese Definition of Religion

There is, again, no official definition of religion against which Shinto may be examined. The nearest that we come to such a thing is a statement made jointly to the Imperial Diet in March 1938, by the minister of education and the minister of home affairs in answer to a request that the government define "the essence of religion." The reply says: "The chief aim of religion is to give to man tranquillity of spirit by means of pure and impartial doctrine and at the same time to promote the extension of the welfare of the state." Inadequate though this may seem to be even as a partial account of the object of religion, it is so rare among official utterances in Japan as to be practically unique.

The citation of lack of unity among Japanese experts regarding the proper classification of State Shinto as an implied reason for foregoing any governmental attempt to make the issue clearer is also fully characteristic of the attitude of the civil authorities. As a matter of fact, lack of clarity in the scholastic world may be in part at least charged to the government itself. A considerable number of Shinto writers, supported by the large group in the lay population that has come under the conditioning influences of the national education—and this has recently seen conspicuous additions from the side of Christian forces—simply takes its cue from the government and finds that the issue needs no further clarification. The state has spoken and the question need not be opened. At any rate it is the part of wisdom not to open it.

Denials That Shinto Is a Religion

Some of the "scholars" who have exhibited special zeal in their propagation of the official interpretation of the Shinto issue have placed themselves under the suspicion that they are active agents of the government in this respect. There was a day not so very long ago when liberal writers openly censured such academic propagandists as *goyo-gakusha*—"experts," functioning as purveyors to the state.

Another group attempts to discover a more rational basis for its conformity to official standards. Various forms of apology are offered at this point—ancestor worship is not religion; the worship attitudes of State Shinto are fundamentally different from those of real religion; Shinto is without formal creed, scriptures or systematized ethical code, hence not a real religion. We need not attempt to enter this maze, since on the evidence of the assertions of the civil authorities themselves the actual determining factors lie in the field of politics and the exigencies of civil and military administration. Suffice it to say that although State Shinto does not require of its adherents subscription to any creedal statement, it nevertheless does rest on certain deep-seated and widely accepted beliefs in supernatural authority, in divinely ordained national destiny and in life beyond the grave; many Shintoists regard portions of the oldest classics, supplemented by important imperial rescripts, as sacred scripture; and finally, the very foundation of the entire educational process of all the schools is *kokumin dotoku*, national ethics with a Shinto inspiration.

There is a third group of Shinto writers, made up of lay authorities and priests alike, who frankly repudiate the official indefiniteness as politically motivated camouflage

and as a misrepresentation of the shrines. To the members of this group the national faith is a genuine religion; some of them would say the highest form of religion since it springs from the deepest needs of the highest possible form of human organization, the state. Far from admitting that the prayers and supplications offered to the national deities are a mere historical adjunct of Shinto and not a feature that should be determinitive in estimating the essence of the shrine system, these men say that, taken in connection with their social references, they indicate the very elements that have created and maintained Shinto throughout its entire history. In this they are undoubtedly correct, for if this nationalistic supernaturalism is merely incidental to State Shinto, one cannot avoid asking how it happens to be the central element in the rites which the state itself conducts before the *kami*.

As Inspirer of National Art

When we try to come to closer terms with our problem we find that as a matter of fact the position of the civil authorities on the alleged non-religious status of State Shinto is not always as crystal clear as one might well think it should be in view of the confidence it has supposedly inspired in various religious circles. We may take by way of illustration a document entitled "The Racial Characteristics of Japanese Art" *(Nippon Geijutsu no Minzoku teki Tokushoku)*, issued in January 1936 by the national department of education. Chapter five deals with the subject "Religion and Art." It opens with the statement:

> It goes without saying that the indigenous religion of the Yamato race was Old Shinto. A present-day problem involves the interpretation that so-called Shrine Shinto is not a religion. While making a distinction in favor of this view, there can be no dissent to the proposition that historically considered Old Shinto was in a full sense the religion of the early Yamato race. Accordingly, in this chapter we must consider Shinto as a religion. If we are going to discuss the racial characteristics of our art, we cannot dismiss lightly this indigenous religion.

Old Shinto, as used in this passage, means the traditional religion of the early classical literature as it existed prior to the introduction of Buddhism in the middle of the sixth century of the Western calendar. It is generally admitted that in spite of profound influences from the side of Buddhism, extending over more than a thousand years, Shinto continued to exist in a clearly identifiable form as an authentic religion right up to the modern period. Many Japanese writers insist that the significance of Shinto as a genuine religion was deepened by its long amalgamation with Buddhism.

Has Shintoism Changed?

This original Japanese faith was rescued from Buddhist domination by the classical revival of the Tokugawa era and established as the state religion of Japan at the time of the restoration of direct imperial rule in 1868. It continued to function as the recognized state religion until 1875, part of the time in governmentally sponsored union with Buddhism. At some time after 1875 State Shinto ceased to exist in its nature as a religion and took on a non-religious character. This is the generally accepted outline of the main trend of Shinto history, accepted by government officials and important religious groups alike.

What was the great change in the fortunes of State Shinto by which it passed from the religious to the non-religious category? Can it be explained on the basis of some fundamental transformation in the inner meaning of the Shinto rituals and the significance of the shrines in the national life? Some of the best informed Japanese students of the subject, including now and then members of the priesthood itself, have given this question an emphatic negative. What then was the change and how did it come about?

The answer lies in the realm of political administration and not in that of religious definition. Dr. Genchi Kato, the foremost living Japanese authority on the indigenous religion of his land and for many years professor of Shinto in the Imperial University of Tokyo, says that the new factor was introduced by the statesmen of the early Meiji period when the pressure of the foreign contacts of the time necessitated that they adopt measures to protect Shinto by making a formal denial of its religious status. His exact words should be noted: "The Meiji government being anxious to suppress the conflict between Shinto and Christianity, then a new foreign power, declared at home and abroad that the nationalistic Shinto was not a religion." "Otherwise," he says, "they might come into a head-on collision."

To Avoid a Clash

The truth of this candid and penetrating observation can be demonstrated beyond a peradventure by the examination of the historical facts. Japanese civil officials themselves have repeatedly in word and act furnished ample evidence of its correctness. What is involved in the statement that Japanese authorities proclaimed that State Shinto was not a religion in order to avoid a conflict with Christianity?

When the story of modern Japan opened with the establishment of the new imperial government in Tokyo in 1868, Christianity was under the ban as a feared and hated foreign religion. Signboards erected throughout the whole country made it a criminal offense to embrace its tenets and offered liberal rewards for the detection of secret Christians and their accomplices. Experience with the Catholic mission of the early part of the Tokugawa era had brought the internationalism of Christianity under suspicion. It was feared as the first stage of invasion by foreign powers; its internationalism threatened to weaken national loyalties at a time when the new government was in the throes of a struggle to unite a disorganized land that was still feudal in all its ways; and, worst of all, the claim which Christianity made of obedience to a heavenly Father and to a world Savior in Jesus Christ ran counter to the veneration of a God-Emperor around whom the state moved and had its being.

These observations are founded on the words of the Japanese statesmen of the time. When, very early in the Meiji era, representatives of certain foreign powers, the United States of America included, met with the heads of the Japanese government to negotiate for better treatment for Christianity, Tomomi Iwakura, speaking for his

government, declared that the Japanese state was founded on the idea, taught by the Shinto priesthood, that the Emperor was of divine origin. He said further that Christianity dispelled this fundamental teaching, hence the propagation of Christianity was calculated to undermine the Imperial Throne, and that therefore Japan was resolved to resist the introduction of the Christian faith as it would resist the advance of an invading army.

It soon became apparent however that this attempt to maintain an anti-Christian position openly and officially placed the Japanese government in a serious dilemma. On the one horn was the deep-seated fear of Christian universalism as the subversion of national loyalty. On the other, the certainty that favorable relations with foreign powers could not be established without the manifestation of a measure of religious liberalism. It was not possible to maintain an exclusive nationalism towards the religion of the West in the face of the strength of foreign powers and the devotion of some of their diplomatic representatives, supported by large areas of their home populations, to the Christian cause. It was not possible again in the face of the conviction to which Japanese statesmen had come—some of them reluctantly and after much struggle—that they must take over the cultural goods and skills of the West and make them their own or else go down before them. Only by learning from the Occident could Japan learn to stand alone.

Desire for Western Knowledge

At the same time a liberal attitude towards religion, and towards Christianity in particular, was one of the main conditions on which the confidence of Western peoples could be brought to a point that made possible the drawing up of treaties which gave full internal autonomy to Japan herself. By the famous Charter Oath of 1868, a document that lies at the basis of Japan's later modernization, proclamation was made that knowledge was to be sought wherever it was to be found and the best of the West taken over. The once closed gates were now thrown wide open and the Occident poured in. Thus Christianity found entrance into Japan—Christianity which in the fears of many sincere Japanese patriots set forth in its doctrine of a revelation in Jesus Christ a teaching that stood in radical opposition to the conception of the Emperor as the living manifestation of the *kami,* embodied in the national religion.

Here were the elements of a conflict that had to be avoided. It was avoided, on the one hand, by permitting the propagation of Christianity within the Japanese empire, and on the other hand, by placing State Shinto in a special position where it could be reinforced by a legal as well as a patriotic claim on the allegiance of all Japanese subjects regardless of other religious affiliations. Thus it was proclaimed that State Shinto, the official bearer of the idea of the divinity and the inviolability of the Emperor, was not a religion as Christianity and Buddhism are religions, but merely the national morality of the Japanese people exhibited in purely secular rites.

This affirmation has been propagated with ever growing persistence from the early part of the Meiji era right up to the present. It has been especially important to Japanese interests that it be well disseminated in foreign countries. Meanwhile the strictness of the official interpretation has tended to increase. A governmental order recently issued by the home office of the South Heian province of Korea says: "Such things as the advocacy of the individualistic and arbitrary interpretation that the Shinto shrines are religious in nature and especially the opposition to orders concerning educational administration [relating to compulsory attendance of schoolchildren at the shrines] are not to be permitted."

An Official Fog-bank

During the year 1938 Dr. Gerhard Rosenkranz of the University of Heidelberg was in Japan studying problems of religion and politics. After he had returned to Germany this careful observer wrote regarding the solution of the Shinto-Christian issue arrived at by the Meiji statesmen the following incisive words:

> This was one of those "compromise solutions" which are typical of Japanese psychology, private as well as public. The true circumstances were befogged. Behind the fog-bank there existed, for those who had raised it, many possibilities, while those against whom it had been raised were left to grope in downright uncertainty.

The impenetrability of this fog-bank has deepened since the beginning of the Manchurian affair of 1931. It now threatens to cover the entire Far East. A sample of the stuff of which it is made may be found in the citation from the chief of the Bureau of Shrines with which this article opened—almost a masterpiece of verbal obfuscation. If the Christian forces of Japan seem to have found a greater certainty within its obscurity, it is because circumstances have determined that they seek security in the hands of official guides whose direction cannot be repudiated. That this surrender of initiative has altogether solved their problems however is not yet apparent. The outline of the nature of some of these problems must be deferred to a later discussion.

In his next article Dr. Holtom will discuss, "What Has Japanese Christianity Surrendered?"

Red Shadow

EVEN the howling, homicidal shell
Loosed by the taloned ravagers as they pass;
Even the flown machine guns that dispel
Shawled refugees close huddling in the grass;
Even the night attacks on templed places
Where centuries have worshiped, sung and prayed;
Even the strangling of old gods and graces
Might leave us stunned, and yet not quite betrayed.

But that these terrors are the day's routine,
Like baseball news and stocks; that none exclaim
In loud revulsion every time the screen
Lifts from fresh raiders spewing babes with flame—
This is to me the reddest blot of all,
A shadow like the dark before man's fall.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

Freedom and the Germans

By H. W. Weigert

DOUGLAS MILLER recently raised a question which is troubling the minds of millions today: "I wonder if the loyal, industrious, painstaking Germans are beginning to realize the crushing weight of hate they are building up against themselves everywhere in the world. Has ever a single people made so many enemies and possessed so few friends?" As a matter of fact, the Germans of whom this question speaks *have* realized it. They are not just now beginning to do so; a long time ago, before Hitler's name had ever been heard, they were aware, tragically aware, that the rest of the world regarded them with abhorrence, and they confessed with something close to despair that they deserved nothing better.

For the past few hours I have been leafing through my German books in search of confirmation for this statement. I quote a few findings—sufficient to prove the point, the more so as they reflect what the German of average education will find in his favorite books.

I

Hölderlin, one of Germany's greatest poets, said in 1797: "It is a hard word and yet I say it because it is the truth: I cannot think of a nation which is more torn than the German. You see craftsmen—but no human beings; priests—but no human beings; masters and slaves—but no human beings; young men and old men—but no human beings. Is it not like a battlefield where hands and arms and limbs lie strewn about dismembered while the lifeblood oozes away in the sand?"

In 1813 the aging Goethe spoke these tragic words: "I have often been racked with anguish as I pondered about the German people, who are so respectable as individuals and so vile as a whole." At another time he declared that "baseness spreads much more easily among the Germans than among other nations." In 1827 he told Eckermann that only after many future centuries would it be possible to say of the Germans that a long time had passed since they were barbarians. Friedrich Hebbel, another outstanding German poet, noted that "all nations hate the German." But then he added: "If these nations should ever succeed in removing the German from the earth, a situation would arise where they would like to scratch him out of his grave with their fingernails."

None of Germany's great thinkers suffered more torture of mind about the character of his nation than Friedrich Nietzsche. The inventor of the "blond beast," who is so often mentioned as one of the fathers of nazism, were he living in Germany today would undoubtedly be sent to a concentration camp—that is, supposing he had found a publisher foolish enough to print his remarks about his fellow countrymen. Here are some of those remarks, selected at random: "Foreigners stand bewildered and fascinated before the riddle presented to them by the contradictory nature of the depths of the German soul. How disorderly and rich is this whole household of souls! How do the noble and the base stand together!" (That "contradictory nature," by the way, appears clearly in Hegel's philosophical system and in Wagner's music.) Or again Nietzsche declared: "The Germans are a people who suffer, and *want* to suffer, from national nervous fever and political ambition. . . . There is for instance among modern Germans the anti-French folly, the anti-Semitic folly, the anti-Polish folly, the Christian-romantic folly, the Wagnerian folly, the Teutonic folly, the Prussian folly, and whatever you may call it, this fogginess of the German spirit and conscience."

Turning back through the centuries we come upon these words of a great German who said many wise and many unwise words about his people—Martin Luther: "There is no nation more despised than the German; the Italians call us beasts, France and England laugh at us, and so do the other lands. Who knows what God will ever make of the Germans, though we have well deserved being scourged before God!"

No foreign critic of the German character could stress its negative element more clearly and more mercilessly than some of these greatest Germans have done. Their utterances come from hearts deeply wounded by the sorrows of their country. Their criticism reveals the tragic discrepancy in the German soul: that this nation of "thinkers and poets" and supreme musical geniuses has never succeeded in rising to the level of its great individuals. From this inability of the German people to transfer to the field of public affairs the good qualities which characterize so many of them as individuals, springs much of the misery that has been abroad in the world since 1914. What is the reason for the Germans' failure at this point? The question confronts us with a problem which is not only of psychological interest but of paramount political importance at the present time. No long-term scheme of world politics can escape the necessity of analyzing the German mind.

II

Prejudice and hatred have played a large part in keeping non-Germans from arriving at a clear answer to this problem. As for the failure of the Germans themselves to do much better, the explanation lies in the power of the same prejudice and in the old truth that men fail to cast the beams out of their own eyes. And of course, aside from such emotional difficulties, there is the fundamental difficulty that in dealing with any major national group the factors are so complex that it is impossible to give a complete answer. Nevertheless I venture to offer at least a partial solution.

It seems to me that the origins of this illness of the German soul are clearly discernible if we study the role played in German history by the idea of individual freedom. The frustrated quest for freedom in Germany, more than any other factor, has molded the German character.

In 1813, when Prussia rose against Napoleon, Goethe

said to a friend: "You speak of the awakening of the German people and you think that this people will never allow itself to be deprived of what it has so hardly achieved by blood and sacrifice—freedom. But are the people really awakened?" Goethe's question reveals the crux of the problem: has liberty ever really been at home in Germany? If we think of liberty as individual freedom and of liberalism as a way of life which sees tolerance and the equality of men as a fundamental law, the answer is, No. And when we seek the reason we find it in the fact that the German people have never gone through a revolution, either political or religious, in order to secure this freedom.

Politically, the history of Germany differs from the history of France, of England and of this country in the fact that serfdom and all the other remnants of slavery were abolished not by revolutionary action but by administrative measures. The serfs, for example, were redeemed by government payments to the landed masters. The transformation of such old tyrannical claims into monetary obligations was a tacit acknowledgment of their legality.

In America, in England, in France, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian states, even in Italy, political revolutions created and nourished the concept of individual freedom and of respect for the dignity of human life. The German soul has never been transformd by such an experience. The frustrated attempts in 1848 to force through a political revolution in Germany left no permanent imprint on the nation's character. On the contrary, they drove out of the country its best liberals—men like Carl Schurz, who turned to America and helped to establish the idea of individual liberty here. German folklore and history cherish no precious recollections of a revolutionary struggle for freedom; Germans have never known the day when chains were broken and the victims gained their freedom by revolutionary action. In the light of history it is safe to say that, wherever slavery has existed and a people did not get rid of it by a political revolution which left its mark for all time on the character of the nation, an odor of the slave spirit remains in the air. It is still in the air over Germany.

III

Germany's religious past seems to have contributed even more to the forming of the German character. In England the struggle for freedom of worship played a tremendously important part in molding ideas of individual liberty. The same is true for America; memories of the Pilgrim fathers and their religious convictions have vastly influenced the shaping of the American political mind. Not so in Germany. When Luther first raised his voice the German peasants, suffering unbearably under the oppression of their feudal lords, saw in him a messiah bearing the promise of a new era of individual freedom, social justice and Christian liberty. But their efforts to bring about this new day were bungling and naive, and broke down in blood and despair when Luther betrayed them. Instead of becoming a leader of the forces assembled under the banner of the peasants' movement, Luther sought the protection and help of the German princes.

In so doing, the great churchman acted on his beliefs. It must never be forgotten that ethical principles for the reform of the world are no essential part of Luther's realm of ideas. In his view, the world had to be accepted as it was. This resignation itself could be made a religious duty. To put it briefly, Luther freed the individual from the suzerainty of Rome only to surrender him to the authority of the state. Thus the state became the master of German Protestantism. Down to our own days the tremendous influence of Luther's decision makes itself felt. When the authority of the Catholic Church in Germany was replaced by the equally strong authority of the princes and the state, when it became the law of the land that the ruler was to determine the religion of his subjects, the free and personal Sermon on the Mount was reinterpreted to engender a new and lasting mood of spiritual militarism.

As the German historian Ernst Troeltsch put it: "Lutherism hallowed the realistic sense of power and the ethical virtues of obedience, reverence and respect for authority, which are indispensable to Prussian militarism. Thus Christianity and a conservative political attitude became identified with each other, as well as with piety and love of power, purity of doctrine, and the glorification of war and of the aristocratic standpoint." Lutherism played a vital part in the development of Prussia. There is an almost direct connection between Wittenberg-Berlin-Munich, between Luther-Bismarck-Hitler.

The direction taken by the German reformation, together with the deadly exhaustion which hung over Germany at the end of the Thirty Years' War, was mainly responsible for the fact that Luther's actions did not lead to a new order of individual freedom in his country. Individual Germans have cast off the yoke of spiritual serfdom. Not so the German nation; the masses have not yet fought this battle.

These factors of course do not explain the whole of the tragic development of the German mind. They do, however, show the basis of that development. Without Luther, certain fundamental trends in the German character might have evolved differently. Lutherism reinforced the German's instinctive acceptance of discipline and of the authority of the ruling classes, and gave strong support to—if indeed it did not beget—the Prussian conception of service to the state and its godlike authority. The cost was increasing suppression of individual liberty and independence. The state rose like a giant out of Luther's reform, and so mighty was its spiritual authority that when Hitler came into power Protestantism as a religion was on the verge of death. Hitler found it easy to transform most of the Lutheran Church into a national and political cult which, erected on the grave of individual freedom, shows forth the spirit of the German people.

IV

I have written thus not in order to examine the German problem as a case study in psychology or psychiatry. Rather, I write out of my deep concern for the Germans and for a world which one day must be rebuilt, not without the Germans but with them. The sorrows and problems of the present tempt us to forget that the time to plan for the future is now, that the foundations for a new order must be laid while such planning is still possible. It

seems to me that the facts I have outlined, and the light they shed on certain deficiencies of the German character and the reasons underlying them, must be taken into account in any attempt at organizing a new world, which will necessarily include the German people. The world needs the Germans if it is to build up an order which shall save it from Hitler's order, wherein "freedom and peace and love are torn." The destiny of the Germans is not yet fulfilled, said Goethe, quoting Napoleon; and Nietzsche spoke of his countrymen as being of yesterday and of tomorrow, not yet of today.

What, then, is the conclusion to be drawn from such discoveries concerning the German soul and the forces which laid it in chains? This primarily, I think: the democracies must aim, with all the ethical vigor of their cause and with all the forces they can command in this battle of morale, to turn the tide of the war by bringing about a revolution in Germany. Thus the Germans would win what they have never experienced: the pride and the memories which a victory for political and religious freedom gives to a nation for all time to come.

I realize the difficulties of such an undertaking, even though an Allied victory now seems a certainty. It is not a matter of bringing Sleeping Beauty back to life, but of healing a nation which for a decade has been poisoned, in cruelly efficient fashion, by the religion of Hitlerism. The horrible danger is that Hitler's end may come at a moment when hunger and desperation or the march of Stalin's legions will make a German revolution in behalf of freedom impossible. I scarcely dare think of what the world may look like if history turns in this direction. Out of such ruin, the new German phoenix could not rise, and the rest of the world would not be immune to infection from his death agony.

A realization of the peril of the future of civilization should force us to see that we must help free the German people from a centuries-old burden and aid them to win political and religious liberty at long last. In all the years of Germany's existence, it has been her tragedy, and that of the world, that she has only changed tyrants and has not yet won the prize of freedom. If the democracies hope to win not only the war but also the peace, they must help the German people to secure this prize. Today millions of Germans believe that for them there is no other way out of the chaos than to win with Hitler or go down with him. If those millions could come to believe that a chance for freedom exists—*after* Hitler, tyranny will have lost a decisive battle.

BOOKS

The Road to Here

THE PUBLIC PAPERS AND ADDRESSES OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, 1937-1940. *Compiled and Collated by Samuel I. Rosenman. 4 volumes. The Macmillan Company, $30.00.*

FIVE VOLUMES published in 1938 contained the public papers and addresses of President Roosevelt during his first administration and his two terms as governor of New York. The present set covers the second administration. The historical importance of this material could never for a moment have been in doubt, but events since these volumes went to press have redoubled the significance of much of it. Next to a file of the *New York Times,* which contains practically all of this and everything else of a documentary nature for the period (except single documents of excessive length), this collection is the best back-log of data for the history of these years; and Mr. Rosenman's careful editing and his "topical table," by which the reader can easily dissect out of the total body of data those items which deal with any particular topic, greatly enhance the value of this edition for either reading or research.

Each of these volumes is given a title, devised to suggest the main theme of the year. For 1937 it is "The Constitution Prevails"; 1938, "The Continuing Struggle for Liberalism"; 1939, "War—and Neutrality"; 1940, "War—and Aid to Democracies." The appropriateness of all but the first is apparent. Well, 1937 was the year in which the proposed limitation of the constitutional function of the Supreme Court did not go through, if that is what he means. For 1941, the opening volume of the prospective set for the third administration, the most fitting title will be "The Road to War," or some equivalent phrase.

Even a glance through the "topical table" furnishes a reminder of the complexity of the President's job and the vastness and variety of the problems to the solution of which he must give leadership—if anyone needs to be reminded. Here, to mention only a few, are agriculture, banking, business, courts, crime, droughts and floods, education, foreign affairs, finances, health, housing, "human relations" (a fine section which suggests, consummate politician as he is, how much more than a politician Mr. Roosevelt is), national defense, social security, transportation. Yes, and here is also "Democratic party," a by no means negligible category in the President's thinking, at least to the end of his second administration.

The ethics of authorship does not require that a President shall personally write everything he signs. The extent to which ghost-writers have contributed to the phrasing of these communications will probably always remain a dark secret. And yet, they are marked by such unity of style and spirit that one is little disposed to question their authenticity as personal pronouncements, and as such they are evidences of a mastery of English style to which the "golden voice" is a fitting complement.

A certain amount of selection was necessary in making this collection. All the strictly public papers and addresses are here, and none of the private correspondence (which the future historian will find in the library at Hyde Park), but in certain marginal classes a choice had to be made. There are, for example, transcripts of some, but not all, of the press conferences, including some statements which were definitely "off the record" at the time of their delivery. But in the exercise of his editorial function, Mr. Rosenman has not attempted to create a fictitious and *ex post facto* consistency in all the President's utterances. With changing times there have been changing attitudes, and the record of the changes is not blurred in these volumes. Here, for example, is the Boston speech of October 30, 1940, the day after the drawing of numbers under the selective service act: "I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again:

Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars. They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores." Then there are the campaign speeches of 1940, including the one at Cleveland on November 2: "The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war."

This reviewer, remembering a gloomy and desiccated work in ten volumes, entitled *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* which an enterprising book-agent sold to him—it must have been during McKinley's administration—is impressed with the vastly increased human interest of presidential pronouncements in these later years; which is a way of saying that the federal government touches us all at more points of intimate concern than formerly, and that the present occupant of the White House has a unique gift for humanizing as well as for exalting his office. These 2,700 pages of speeches on all sorts of occasions, messages to Congress and to others, and transcripts of press conferences, not only map the road by which we have come from where we were five years ago—how strange that we thought it a turbulent world then!—to where we were at the beginning of the year that has just closed, but they also give a broad view of the terrain which that road traversed.

W. E. Garrison.

Books in Brief

Time Was, Death of a Junker. *By Heinrich Hauser. Reynal & Hitchcock, $3.00.*

Not of "a Junker," but of the whole Junker regime, to which the author himself belonged. He was just old enough to get into the First World War in its last year, went through the revolution, lived in Germany through the days of the Weimar republic and the rise of nazism, and got away early in 1939. The human, rather than the political, aspect of this course of change is the theme of this magnificently poignant narrative. "This ceaseless crumbling of all cultural values, this crushing down of all native character—and individualism was the best, the most typical German growth—is the uncanniest occurrence seen in recent years. It is like the beginning of an ice age, like the grinding advance of a glacier across a whole country. It has rendered us strangers at home. It has finally brought things to a point where alien soil offered nourishment to the roots of our existence, while in our own soil we were bound to wither." Only one with the skill of an able novelist, and with the knowledge and the emotions of a participant in the events, could have written this moving record. Junkerism is, without question, dead past the possibility of resurrection. Like any other form of aristocratic landlordism, it was bad but not wholly bad. But the total effect of this story is to give substantial ground for believing that in this war the Allies may be saving Germany as well as saving themselves from that dreadful perversion of itself that Germany has become.

On Social Freedom. *By John Stuart Mill. Introduction by Dorothy Fosdick. Columbia University Press, $1.00.*

There is extraordinary timeliness in this reprint of a practically unknown essay by the great social philosopher whose *On Liberty* (1859) is a classic defense of the independence of the individual. The argument of this second essay, published posthumously and so obscurely that it has apparently been quite unknown to students of Mill's thought, rests upon the assumption that man is essentially a social being—not, as he had earlier considered him, an essentially independent individual with social contacts and relations added as a matter of convenience. In the earlier and famous essay, Mill was concerned with the political question as to how much legal control the state may properly exercise over the individual. In this later essay he considers the sociological question touching the necessary limits of individual freedom as set by the very nature of society and of the individual. Miss Fosdick's Introduction, of almost equal length with the essay, is a penetrating and informing discussion of these and related aspects of Mill's thought. With this important addendum to his more familiar writings, Mill becomes much less the voice of an outmoded and somewhat doctrinaire individualistic libertarianism (though he never was quite that), and much more a contemporary thinker reflecting full awareness of man's integral and organic relation with the body of society.

Books Received

The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible, 1340-1611. By Charles C. Butterworth. University of Pennsylvania Press, $3.50. (To be reviewed.)

Why I Did Not Become a Premillennialist. By Walter McCarroll. Service Print Shop, Topeka, Kan., 25 cents. An examination of the texts upon which the affirmative argument is based and of the concept of "dispensationalism."

New Worship and Song. Pilgrim Press. This collection of 181 hymns and 40 pages of worship materials is suitable for use by almost any group of worshiping Christians, but, being smaller and doubtless cheaper than a standard hymnal, was perhaps designed especially for use in conferences and on similar informal occasions. The hymns are selected from among the best, and the worship materials are excellent and varied, with full recognition of the place of social ideals in the devotional life.

Maimonides Said, An Anthology. Selected and translated by Nahum N. Glatzer. Jewish Book Club, 110 W. 40th St., New York, 60 cents. The greatest Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages was also a master of sententious wisdom. These brief extracts contain not only edifying instruction concerning the Jewish faith but practical guidance for the conduct of life.

Highlights of Jewish History. By Trude Weiss-Rosmarin. Jewish Book Club, 60 cents. In these "highlights of four thousand years of Jewish history," presented in 90 pages, naturally only the highest lights are visible. The text is a condensation of a series of radio lectures.

Invitation to Dance. By Walter Terry. A. S. Barnes & Co., $2.00. Few of us could accept the invitation to all the kinds of dance here portrayed, for it touches almost every form from Bali to Broadway. Pageants of ballet and other art forms of the dance receive most attention, but there are also chapters on folk dancing and on the dance as a "builder of character" and on "dance therapeutics." The author is dance critic on the *New York Herald Tribune.*

Prayer. By George Arthur Buttrick. Abingdon-Cokesbury, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

The Philippines, A Study in National Development. By Joseph Ralston Hayden. Macmillan, $9.00. (To be reviewed.)

The Social Organization of the Western Apache. By Grenville Goodwin. University of Chicago Press, $4.50. This posthumous work represents a brilliant young ethnologist's ten years of intimate, though intermittent, contact with the Apaches in Arizona. In addition to good scientific training, he had a gift for winning (by deserving) the confidence of the Indians, so that they looked upon him as one of themselves and taught him the lore and mores of the tribe. In comparison with this, all that has ever been written about their wars and their marauding (in the course of which they killed an uncle of this reviewer) is negligible so far as concerns insight into the Apache mind and ways.

The Theology of Politics. By Nathaniel Micklem. Oxford University Press, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

We Knew These Men. By Wilfred Brandon. Transcribed by Edith Ellis. Alfred A. Knopf, $2.50. Another record of life after death, not presented as fiction, like St. John Irvine's *Sophia* (reviewed in issue of Dec. 3), but as sober fact. Brandon, who uses Miss Ellis as his "amanuensis," died in 1781, in the Revolutionary War. It was "while one of a band of Master spirits who volunteered to go to France to receive the souls of our own dead in 1918" that he saw what he here describes and read the minds of the men whose thoughts and words after death he here transmits. His language is not eighteenth century: "Death is a cinch. Nothing to it." Fiction or not, it might as well be. But this is the third book that Miss Ellis has "transcribed" from Brandon's ghostly dictation.

Maigret Sits It Out. By Georges Simenon. Harcourt, $2.00. Two more mystery novels of the famous "Maigret" series by the even more famous French fictionist, Simenon.

This Christian Cause. By Karl Barth. Macmillan, 75 cents. This is that much discussed "Letter to Great Britain from Switzerland" (editorially discussed in the issue of Oct. 8). This American edition contains also Barth's two letters to French Protestants and an introduction by Dr. John A. Mackay.

Why Hitler's Economy Fooled the World. By Henry J. Taylor. Christopher, $1.00. Did it? "An explanation of capital and the German economy."

Plowshares and Pruning Hooks. By Orpheus Lanphear Woodbury. Christopher, $1.25. The cure for the causes of war: international free trade and an international currency.

Foundations for a Science of Personality. By Andras Angyal. Commonwealth Fund, Oxford University Press, $2.25. (To be reviewed.)

The Crannied Wall. By Laura Simmons. James A. Decker Press, Prairie City, Ill., $1.25. After one has seen Laura Simmons' poems floating around in magazines and anthologies for years, it is a pleasure to see them—nearly all "quotable"—in a book of her own. This poet does not attempt subtlety or obscurity; she just says things worth while, and says them effectively.

Be Proud of Women. By Bessie Wixon. Dorrance, $1.50. A brief biographical sketch of Grace Morrison Poole (now Mrs. H. G. Reynolds), former president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and the text of nineteen of her addresses, probably condensed for they also are very brief.

In This Generation, The Story of Robert P. Wilder. By Ruth Wilder Braisted. Friendship Press, $1.25. A biography of Robert P. Wilder is a history of the Student Volunteer Movement, for he was its heart, soul and voice through all the years of its greatest growth and influence—and both were very great. The author is his daughter. Very appropriately, Dr. John R. Mott writes a foreword. This is a fitting memorial to a great missionary leader, and an introduction to an important chapter in the history of American Christianity.

The Southern Negro and the Public Library. By Eliza Atkins Gleason. University of Chicago Press, $2.50. "A study of the government and administration of public library service to Negroes in the south." And more than that, an inquiry into the legal basis of such service and the statistical facts in regard to its quantity, quality and distribution. What it comes to is a calm and scholarly demonstration of the need of more adequate resources for this type of adult education, and some specific and well studied recommendations. The author is director of the new library school for Negroes at Atlanta University.

The Philosophy of Edmund Husserl, The Origin and Development of His Phenomenology. By E. Parl Welch. Columbia University Press, $3.25. (To be reviewed.)

The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart by Ambroise. Translated from the Old French by M. J. Hubert, notes by J. L. La Monte. Columbia University Press, $4.00. (To be reviewed.)

CORRESPONDENCE

The Quakers in France

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Since the entrance of the United States into the war as an active belligerent, a number of people have expressed an interest in knowing what has been the effect upon the relief work carried on by the American Friends Service Committee in unoccupied France. At this date it is impossible to make a clear and unqualified statement as to what will be possible as time goes on. However, when we entered the war, there were 18 Americans on our staff in unoccupied France. They were engaged in giving relief in refugee camps and to children in clinics and through public schools. Food supplies for this purpose over the past six months have been purchased from the African colonies and from Switzerland. The Allied blockade has prevented the shipment of food from this country.

All indications point to increasing suffering, especially on the part of adolescents and small children, due to shortages of fats and milk. When war came, most of our staff expressed a desire to remain at least until the American embassy was closed. Negotiations are under way at the present time for further purchases of milk from Switzerland, and for this purpose the door has not been closed. The food is available and its purchase hangs on the willingness of our own government to authorize transfer of funds in payment for milk produced in Switzerland.

The political struggle for the domination of France, of course, makes the operation of a relief mission extremely difficult. We have felt, however, that those who believe that the way to win the peace will be found through a practical and consistent sharing of food, shelter and clothing should try to keep these channels as an expression of our faith and good will as long as possible. It is still our hope to have them kept open continuously, even under deepening war conditions.

If and when the program becomes stabilized, I should like to elaborate more fully upon the nature of the program and its significance to France and to ourselves.

American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pa. CLARENCE E. PICKETT, Executive Secretary.

A Better World in Sight

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: On page 1585 of the December 17th Christian Century I have seen the report of an address given by Dr. E. Stanley Jones. There is one reference which seems astonishing as coming from the lips of this world leader, showing as it does such a lack of understanding of the Japanese people. I refer to this: "Dr. Jones suggested that New Guinea be given to Japan." This in working out a plan of cooperation in place of competition and violence. Even before the recent developments, and in fact for at least one generation, it has been known that Japan would not be satisfied with a little parcel of land like New Guinea. Such a suggestion may be compared to throwing a ham sandwich to a pack of hungry wolves approaching a group of children. It seems strange that Stanley Jones should make such a naive proposal.

With regard to the present situation, the intimation that if our country had not helped China or interfered in any way with the Far Eastern conflict then we would not have been drawn into the war, seems absolutely unfounded. When one knows the history of the Japanese nationalistic spirit during the last fifty years it is manifest that we could not escape. Had we done nothing to help China and simply allowed Japan to take possession it is easily realized what such a united Asia would have done to us. The ostrich attitude of so many American leaders has now been rudely changed; it is most unfortunate that so many refused to see the situation in a realistic manner until Japan was given time to prepare so thoroughly. Now the inevitable conflict is upon us and we should be thankful that it began as it did in a way to unite and enrage our people. The outcome is sure to be favorable

to the anti-Axis group and a better world is in process of creation.

Taian, Shantung, China, PERRY O. HANSON.
Iola, Kan. (on furlough).

The Romulus Articles

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am writing to express my appreciation of The Christian Century's illuminating articles on "The Church of Rome at Home." The one on "The Concordats" is especially revealing. I wish that the public could understand that when at least some Protestants hesitate to vote for a Roman Catholic for President of the United States it is not on religious but on political grounds. The article on the concordats makes it clear that the Vatican maintains a great political organization. Many Protestants are afraid of the political power of that organization.

Davidson College, WALTER L. LINGLE,
Davidson, N. C. President-Emeritus.

Have Mercy on Japan!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am a pacifist Quaker who lived in Japan from 1918 to 1927 as an educational missionary. I feel in the main you have been very fair in your editorial policy. God grant that you and all of us may continue to be non-partisan and to show our love to the suffering everywhere, regardless of nationality or where the war leaders are fighting. I hope China is getting a little respite now, but I pray God that our United States may never be guilty of the mass murder incendiary bombs on Japanese cities would bring. That would be more terrible than any bombing elsewhere, for there would not be any escape—as there was not for thousands in the Tokyo earthquake of 1923.

Philadelphia, Pa. EDITH NEWLIN.

War, Not Football

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Why all the fuss about Japan's "dastardly" attack on Pearl Harbor and her "treacherous" bombing of the open city of Manila? This is war, not football. Whoever expects warring nations to fight by rules is deluding himself. According to military logic anything is justifiable that is effective, or in other words, that strengthens one's own forces and weakens the enemy. If an act of cruelty or dishonesty causes one's own followers to doubt the righteousness of their cause and their leaders, then that act is unjustifiable. Likewise, if that act raises rather than lowers the morale of one's enemy, it is unjustifiable. But any act that avoids those two dangers is subject to no other considerations of ethics. Since this principle alone governs all military conduct, any protests by one warring government against the atrocities of its enemy must be regarded purely as efforts to turn such atrocities to account by using them to raise the morale of its own people.

Guilford College, N. C. WILLIAM EDGERTON.

War and the Unity of the Church

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The editorial of December 24 entitled "The Parish and the War" seems to me, a humble parish minister, to be a good illustration of beating around the bush. We who cope with the actual concrete situations of the parish ministry in our daily life expect braver comments and more definite guides for our conduct from those who may be more remote from the problems that confront us.

I gather that the main function of the parish minister in this time of war is to preserve the unity of the church. Of what does this unity which he is to preserve consist? Is it merely expressed in the worship functions of the church, or does it apply to social action as well? My own interpretation of the unity of the church is that this unity consists in a way of life. A Christian is one who lives and believes in this way, and because he shares it with others he becomes a part of a unity which we term "the Body of Christ." Most of the statements of all the theologians who have attempted to describe their attitudes toward war in The Christian Century have agreed that war is contrary to the Christian way of life. When the nation becomes involved in war, those who actually engage in its prosecution agree in action that the Christian way is no longer tenable or practical in the real situation. If the Christian church agrees to the righteousness of their sin, where in reality does the unity exist which we should so nobly preserve? Any other unity seems on the face of it to be irrelevant to the reality of Christian experience in daily living. That's why the early Christians committed the heresy of fleeing to the catacombs!

St. Paul's Church, ROBERT D. BRODT.
Franklin Park, Ill.

[It would be interesting to know how this conception of church unity works out in the local church of which our correspondent is the pastor.—THE EDITORS.]

To Discuss the Peace

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: A small group of people in Sacramento have been studying a recent publication by the Carnegie Foundation on International Conciliation. It is an effort to "seek out and state the principles upon which international relations must be reorganized, after the present conflict, if peace is to prevail." All thinking people are concerned with this problem, especially people with vision and a desire to see the brotherhood of man come into being, rather than a reversion to barbarism which seems so probable.

It has occurred to us that there should be others in or near our community who might welcome the opportunity to have contact and discussion with people interested in such a concern. It has also occurred to us that people who subscribe to and read The Christian Century might well be people of such interests. If any such readers would care to join such a group, we would be glad to have them get in touch with us. My address is 1541 34th Street, Sacramento.

Sacramento, Calif. Monthly Meeting Society of Friends,
MABEL POUND ADAMS, Clerk.

A Father's Voice

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: My boy enlisted last week in the air corps of the United States army. Somehow I never could think of *my* son becoming a soldier. Other boys might do so as a matter of course—but *my* boy! Yet he has gone, my only son and youngest child. The days seem lonely now with "mother" and me left alone once more as it was when we started out together; only the years have flown.

I could have thought of my boy entering the ministry, or answering the call to the mission field some day . . . but entering the army, answering the call to do what soldiers must do, what most of all they are trained to do! Long, painful thoughts come to my mind in these lonely days of waiting. Thoughts with many question marks back of them.

But I am not complaining and I would not call my son back. After all, he is like other boys and I can wish for him only what I would wish for them. I know he is doing what he feels to be right. He said a few days before leaving, when I spoke to him of what I thought might be an easier, more congenial branch of the service, "Easy! Who wants a safe and easy task in a day like this? I'm not looking for an easy job."

I know he will do his part if and when the dark hour comes. I am sure he will catch the same "do and die" spirit that has animated myriads of other soldiers upon the field of battle; and if he must . . . but I cannot allow myself to think of *that!*

My thoughts go beyond the present awful struggle and I am wondering what stand and action my son and others like him will take when the long, dreary struggle finally comes to the concluding peace conference. Will their moral convictions be as strong then as their patriotic devotion is now? Will my boy and millions of others like him rise up in that hour and demand a peace of justice for all peoples? Will they flame forth then in all the power of their strong manhood and demand no repetition of

what happened at Versailles? Will they see to it that the dragon's teeth be not planted again for another carnage in the next generation? If I could only be sure of *that,* then the hours would be less dreary and my thoughts not fraught with so much of pain.

First Congregational Church, Scott C. Siegle.
Westminster, Mass.

Before We Bomb Tokyo

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: The demand to "avenge Manila" is getting into full swing in our nation and among our governmental leaders. This is a natural reaction to expect. But it should be examined before it becomes a war policy that will lead us to bomb Tokyo and other cities of Japan. It is a poor military policy. For it is generally said that such bombing of London stiffened the morale and determination of the British to fight to a finish. It is also being said already that this is the reaction of the Filipinos in Manila. Such bombings of Japanese cities would doubtless have the same result. Moreover, this is certainly not a policy for a Christian nation to pursue even in war. What our nation wants to do is to destroy the military power of Japan; this having been done sufficient punishment can be meted out to those responsible for the war. We should remember the generous treatment of Santa Anna by Sam Houston at San Jacinto, and the generous treatment of Lee and Davis by President Lincoln at the close of the Civil War. These are shining stars in our history that we would not have blotted out by a bloody orgy of revenge and retaliation heaped upon innocent Japanese civilians by such bombings. We should also remember that it is said, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." Edith Cavell said, "Patriotism is not enough. I must not have hatred or bitterness for anyone."

The Methodist Church, H. M. Ratliff.
Kingsville, Texas.

Name Wanted

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: I am curious (tardily by several years) to know what part of the Japanese nation we oppose. Eastwards we combat nazis and fascists, not Germans and Italians. But to the west, as you have noted, we are crashing down on a lost democracy indiscriminately with a total, vicious hate. When Japanese super-culturists entered China, we should have been told what party name they bore. It is more important than ever to know now; this is not yet a war of peoples against peoples. A distinguishing label which will respect the helplessness of Nippon's commoners, as of Germany's, including those dwelling in our midst, is essential to emphasize now the integrity of American democracy's war attitude in the west. It is essential to remind us that there, too, America fights to extinguish not lives, but an evil way of governing them.

I hope there is a name for the Japanese fascist. Otherwise their people's plight may be closer to ours than we think; they too may be simple democrats like ourselves, indifferent to bellicose leaders until war was thrust upon them. Then their label would be ours.

Higganum, Conn. A. C. Westervelt.

Sanctimonious?

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: For smug self-satisfaction, I have rarely seen the equal of the last paragraph in Mr. Villard's article in your issue of December 24, "A Long, Long War Ahead." I do not think we pacifists should even think, still less openly say, that "we have no ground for regret," or even be "cheered by the fact that the final guilt is not our country's but Japan's." Surely a man who has done as much in public life as Mr. Villard for a generation past, cannot afford to indulge that degree of sanctimoniousness.

I have not agreed with The Christian Century in its muddled exposition of foreign affairs during the last year. I think your editorials have failed to plumb the depths of the war situation. As Protestants of any denomination, we inevitably stand in the Lutheran tradition of separation of church and state, and yet for four hundred years Protestantism has complicated rather than resolved that formula by superimposing an acquisitive, individualistic capitalism upon the state and letting the church stay where it belongs.

You evidently had an unfailing confidence that our peace could be maintained if you loudly enough acclaimed peace and condemned the President. You have so far largely failed (perhaps you do not dare) to acquaint your readers with the fundamental changes that are coming over the nations of the world and more fundamentally, from your standpoint, over the Protestant churches throughout the world, if we are to be able successfully to wage peace. If you will review the history of what happened to a decadent Judaism at the coming of the Christ, and to a decadent Christianity at the time of the Reformation, I believe you can then address yourself to a parallel construction of what is happening to a failing church, both Catholic and Protestant, at the present day.

Philadelphia, Pa. Francis R. Taylor.

Another State College Teaches Religion

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: I have just read S. Vernon McCasland's fine article on "Our Secularized Education." I sincerely hope it will help to arouse the churches to the great need and great opportunity of putting religion into education. I note that Dr. McCasland states: "The University of Virginia is the only state university, so far as I am aware, which has a fully established professor of religion on its faculty." May I call attention to the fact that Northeast Missouri Teachers College, Kirksville, Mo., is a state college having a fully established teacher of religion on its faculty.

Arch Street Methodist Church, Joseph W. Thompson.
Hannibal, Mo.

Methodist Good Fortune

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: All pastors must be eternally grateful to you for your editorial, "The Parish and the War." How thrilling to hear you say that you cannot "believe in the righteousness of our nation's war!"

Of course, we Methodists have an easier time than many of our brother ministers in other communions. Our Disciplinary Law of 1940, democratically achieved, gives the official position of the whole Methodist Church, which no local church can change, even if it should desire to do so. It may interest the larger circle of Christian believers to recall it. Here it is:

"The Methodist Church, although making no attempt to bind the consciences of its individual members, will not officially endorse, support or participate in war. We insist that the agencies of the church shall not be used in preparation for war, but in the promulgation of peace. We insist that the buildings of the church dedicated to the worship of God shall be used for that holy purpose, and not by any agency for the promotion of war." (1940 Discipline, pages 777-78.)

This means, of course, that no matter what the personal desire of any minister or layman in any Methodist church, the law does not allow the church officially to endorse, support or participate in war. The whole Methodist Church has taken officially John Haynes Holmes' prophetic stand! The priestly function of the church to those who do not personally share this position of their church, is, as you well emphasize, very important just now. We could only wish that other ministers might have the upholding of their own communions officially in as fine a way as we Methodists now have.

For this helps us to defend democracy at home, especially the vital American democratic doctrine of the separation of state and church, obeying every law of the state as most of us can, and yet insisting that "the church shall *be* the church."

Clinton, N. Y. George Maychin Stockdale.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Britain Is Under No Illusions

Third War Christmas Finds Nation Hopeful but Anticipating Long, Hard Struggle

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Dec. 23.—The third Christmas week in this war period has begun. In the first, we were waiting almost entirely in the dark, guessing what was before us. All our guesses were wrong. In the second, we were in the thick of the fierce attack upon Britain. We had terrible and yet reassuring memories of the story of the defense of Britain. We were still waiting, for until then it had been the privilege of the nazis to have the first move. In the third Christmas it looks as if all the nations are in the action and the battlefield is the world. But we shall still be wise to expect the unexpected. The powers of the world are now ranged on one side or the other and we agree with Hitler that a climax may be at hand. This morning we have learned that Hitler is to be his own generalissimo. We know enough of the Far East to know that Japan has a strength upon which we had not calculated. Hongkong is in grave peril and Malaya and the Philippines are invaded.

* * *

European War Front Improved

In Libya there is solid ground for satisfaction. The forces which were in the spring scheduled to take Suez are now in retreat. Russia, which many people thought would be conquered in six weeks, is now making Hitler enter into his favorite role of Napoleon in unwelcome ways. Now vastly superior in numbers, Russia, too, has been among the unexpected factors in its immense preparations and military skill. At home this is a Christmastide with no illusions about war but certainly with no temptation to luxurious living. Whether we have high thinking or not, we have plain living enjoined upon us. And I imagine the medical profession is not displeased.

* * *

They Never Heard of Benedict Arnold

Those who think it most important that Britain should know the American scene can report progress. It must be admitted that there is much leeway to make up. The average citizen has only a vague knowledge of American history and he knows little of political and social conditions there. But during the last fortnight he has had many opportunities of learning through the radio, by far the most important of adult schools, the story of America. One program gave him an anthology of great words spoken on historic occasions by the fathers and heroes of the republic. He heard the language of the Declaration of Independence and the speech of Lincoln at Gettysburg and his Second Inaugural in dramatic style. One evening not long ago an American visitor told us the story of Benedict Arnold. It was a thrilling record, almost entirely new to most of us. I had never heard it at school and I only happened to know a little of it from some schoolboy's papers.

* * *

Parliament Guards Civil Rights

Parliament has adjourned for a brief recess, but not before it has once more asserted its vigilance. It insisted on a secret session in which the Eastern situation could be frankly discussed. There was certainly a desire for more information upon such matters as the preparedness of our forces in the Far East for such an attack as the one which the Japanese are now making. The loss of the Prince of Wales and the Repulse and the need for a single strategy were also much in the minds of members. The House of Commons showed unmistakably that it considered the period of recess proposed by the government too long, and the government accepted the criticism. There was also a frank discussion of the action taken when a talk announced upon the "18 B" regulation was omitted from a radio program. The critics were not satisfied and will raise the matter again. These debates are not signs of a rebellion. They are signs of a determination that Parliament even in wartime shall not lose its right to be the vigilant guardian of our liberties.

* * *

Labor Spokesman Dies

The Right Hon. H. B. Lees-Smith died last week. After the inclusion in the government of Major Attlee, Mr. Bevin and other Labor leaders, Mr. Lees-Smith became the chief spokesman for Labor in the Commons. He had been postmaster general and president of the board of education in the Labor governments. Like many other leaders in his party he came to Labor from the Liberal party. He was one of the founders of Ruskin College in 1899, working with Dr. Vrooman in that important adventure. He was a learned economist and had lectured in the Landon School of Economics. The House of Commons listened to him with the attention which it always gives to those who know. He had been a supporter from the beginning of a determined war policy. Labor will miss him.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Plan First Nation-wide Protestant Convocation

The first American convocation of Protestant Christianity is being planned for Chicago, and is to be held in May 1944. It is expected that each of the denominational conventions held that year will be scheduled to meet in Chicago at that time. The convocation will consist of interdenominational sessions of all the churches. The idea originated with the International Council of Religious Education, but has been accepted as their own by other interchurch agencies. The first denomination to act on the proposed convocation is the Evangelical and Reformed Church, which has approved the proposal. The convocation will continue through four days.

Asiatic War Lifts Gifts to Missions

Southern Baptists Increase Fund to Return Missionaries—Camps Increase Church Activity

(Correspondence from Texas)

WACO, Jan. 3.—Dec. 7 found Foreign Missions Secretary Charles E. Maddry of the Southern Baptists in Honolulu with a group of missionaries removed from China and Japan. Although bombs fell near the house in which he was in conference with one of them, he escaped injury. Catching the first plane to California, he was back in Richmond, Va., headquarters in time to ask that an imminent special offering for foreign missions be enlarged sufficiently to bring the large number of Southern Baptist missionaries out of the Far East. The convention's executive committee, meeting in Nashville, Tenn., immediately approved the recommendation and it appears the money will be secured.

* * *

Missionary on Two Torpedoed Ships

Foreign Missions Secretary Cyrus M. Yokum, of the Disciples of Christ, is in Texas conducting conferences on how to meet the rising cost of missionary support. He is accompanied by William H. Edwards, missionary of the Belgian Congo, who has survived the torpedoing of two ships on which he has sailed since the war began. One was the Athenia and the other the Zam Zam. The missionary crisis is still further emphasized by a summons from Pres. F. P. Culver for a meeting of the Methodist South Central jurisdictional board of missions in Oklahoma City on Jan. 6.

* * *

Baptists Launch Radio Series

Southern Baptists inaugurated a series of south-wide broadcasts on Jan. 4 with an address by George W. Truett, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Dallas. For the following three Sundays the speaker will be T. F. Adams of Richmond, Va. Other speakers to be heard during February and March will include Pres. Pat M. Neff of Baylor University, Fred F. Brown of Knoxville, Tenn., H. Josh Lee, United States senator from Oklahoma, and C. Oscar Johnson of St. Louis, Mo.

* * *

No Hatred in Day of Prayer

New Year's Day was solemnly observed by most cities and towns of Texas as a day of prayer, in response to the request of the President. Here in Waco, where the whole community joined in a series of services, participated in by the ministers of all denominations, including the Jews, there was an absence of hate, a note of deep penitence and much pleading for divine guidance of the nations in formulating the peace. With Texas an armed camp, all the

centers having some kind of defense installation, the churches will be busily occupied with different kinds of service to the men in training. The religious forces show every evidence of unity in wartime, but it is not believed they will turn their churches into exactly the same kind of governmental-ecclesiastical combine as in the First World War. They will be even more interested in winning a peace than in winning a war.

* * *

And So Forth

Activities in the churches include a revival series in the First Presbyterian Church, Dallas, conducted by F. Crossley Morgan, Concord, N. C.; the transfer of Frank Cheavens from First Baptist Church, Victoria, to Seventh and James Baptist, Waco, and of P. D. O'Brien from First Baptist Church, Stamford, to First, Big Spring. The performance of marriage ceremonies by pastors of all churches in the vicinity of army camps is proceeding on a record-breaking scale.

Bishop College for Negroes at Marshall, one of the three or four most important institutions of higher learning for the race in the southwest, is about to launch an endowment-equipment campaign. It has the support of white and colored people in five Baptist conventions. The college is owned by Northern Baptists.

Indicative of the growing interest in the evangelical church worship movement is the three-day interdenominational church music conference now being held at the University of Texas, Austin. Chief speaker is H. Augustine Smith of Boston University. Attention is given to organ music, choir masters and Sunday school singing.

JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON.

Christian Scientists Form Fellowship of Pacifists

To serve the welfare of Christian Scientists who are conscientious objectors, an organization has been formed called the Christian Scientist Pacifist Fellowship. Franklin Zahn, Jr., 6719 S.E. 68th Ave., Portland, Oregon, is chairman. Other denominational pacifist fellowships are Episcopal, Baptist and Unitarian.

Infant Mortality Rate Up in Britain

Infant mortality, the surest yardstick for measuring social welfare, shows a sharp increase in Great Britain—82.7 deaths per 1,000 infants being the figure for 1939, 131.5 for 1941.

New Zealand Jails War Objectors

Quakers are exempted from war service in New Zealand, but others are imprisoned in detention camps. At first the objectors were sentenced to jail for one month, then turned over to the military authorities for court-martial. This has now been discontinued.

First Negro Elected to New York Council

The first Negro to become a member of the New York city council is Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, who was sworn in by Mayor La Guardia on Jan. 5. His church is said to have 8,000 members, and is located in Harlem.

Bethlehem Is 200 Years Old

Munitions City Notes Anniversary—Pacifist Colony Becomes Steel Center—Aid to Missions

(Correspondence from Philadelphia)

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 2.—Bethlehem, Pa., began a six-month celebration of its 200th anniversary at Christmas, 1941. No community in America has so unique a Christmas atmosphere as Bethlehem. It is called "The Christmas City." A huge electric star, 100 feet high, on the top of a mountain overlooking the Lehigh campus, the steel plant and the city of 62,000 inhabitants, attracted multitudes of holiday pilgrims. The celebration will feature the five points in the star of the city of Bethlehem: religion, music, education, industry and recreation. Haydn's "Creation" will be presented on Feb. 22 by the Bach choir. In 1741 Count Zinzendorf arrived at the little Moravian settlement on the Lehigh river. Participating in the Christmas Eve vigils in a cabin, he went into that portion of the log cabin reserved for the horses and cattle and began to sing a German Epiphany hymn by Adam Drese:

"Not Jerusalem, lowly Bethlehem,
'Twas that gave us Christ to save us."

That hymn suggested the name for Bethlehem. The 1941 vigils were carried over a nation-wide broadcast from the Central Moravian Church, which had been recently redecorated outside and inside at a cost of nearly $25,000, only to be badly damaged by a $40,000 fire. Services are now held in the original chapel, over 190 years old. It is hoped to have the beautiful church ready again for Easter. Byron K. Horne has come from Lititz to succeed the late C. A. Meilicke as pastor.

* * *

Moravians Enlarge Aid to Missions

The Moravian Church in America has been sending help to various parts of the world as a result of the war, according to F. P. Stocker, eastern vice-president of its provincial elders' conference. Their major aid is for the large Moravian mission in Surinam or Dutch Guiana, which before the war had been supported from Holland and Germany. At intervals they have been sending aid to missions in Labrador, Africa, British Guiana and before the war to Bohemia and Moravia. Although no special appeal has been made for the destroyed English churches, individuals and congregations have sent help. Last March old Fetter Lane Chapel, seat of Moravianism in England, was destroyed in the fierce air raids. American Moravians have been busy trying to maintain their full missionary work.

* * *

Brüning Pleads For Religion

"Only a conviction of Christian brotherhood can save us," declared Heinrich Brüning of Harvard, former chancellor of Germany, speaking at Haverford College. "A vigorous religious conviction is the only means to a real democratic way of life. Democracy cannot function without religion in men's hearts. Only religion and ethics can create in the hearts of men the spirit of rejecting force and living in love. The Constitution alone cannot provide for man's happiness." For the survival of democracy he urged political, social and economic stability and traditions that flourish in the hearts of the people.

* * *

Presbyterians Pledge Loyalty

"The Presbyterian Church never fails in national emergency." So William B. Pugh, stated clerk of the Presbyterian General Assembly, telegraphed to Presbyterian pastors shortly after the declaration of war in an appeal for increased united world emergency fund giving. Making the post-war peace will be the major 1942 emphasis of the department of social education and action of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, which has issued a bulletin on questions for discussion and conference on "Toward a More Christian Democracy." Eleven Presbyterian pastors will serve during January in joint camp services in the south with Southern Presbyterian pastors.

* * *

And So Forth

As chairman of the American Friends Service Committee, Rufus M. Jones of Haverford College in a letter to all Quakers urged them to be "little centers of quiet and spiritual assurance. Discourage hysteria and outbreaks of hate and bitterness against innocent individuals and be purveyors of love and tenderness. Now, if ever," he said, "we must find adequate resources for our way of life and for making our spiritual contribution to a world of darkness and agony."

The Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, Muhlenberg College and the Philadelphia Seminary at Mt. Airy are sponsoring for 1942 a bicentennial celebration of the arrival in America of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who organized Lutheranism in the colonies and planted the church along the Atlantic seaboard. A bicentennial commission, with President Roosevelt as honorary chairman, has been authorized by Congress.

A conference on pastoral counseling meets on Jan. 29, under the federation of churches at the Central Y.M.C.A. It will be addressed by John S. Bonnell of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, and Earl Bond, M.D., psychiatrist of the Institute of Mental Hygiene.

Weekday religious training for Catholic students in the public schools begins on Jan. 5 in the archdiocese of Philadelphia.

CHARLES DANIEL BRODHEAD.

Syracuse Holds Interfaith Prayer Service Daily

Catholics, Protestants and Jews of Syracuse, N. Y., are joining in a daily service of prayer "to God for strength in these trying days." The religious leaders of the three faiths prepare prayers which appear in the papers of the city daily. At 6:30 there is an "Angelus Minute" during which all activity ceases. Traffic lights all turn red, radio stations broadcast the prayer for the day and all citizens are asked to unite in prayer. In Kansas City and in Asheville a prayer minute is observed daily at noon.

Unrest Spreads Over All India

Exclusion from Atlantic Charter Unites Conservatives with National Congress in Opposition to Imperialism

(Correspondence from India)

TIRUVALLA, Oct. 8. *(Delayed by censor.)* —When the Roosevelt-Churchill "Atlantic Charter" for the post-war world was made known with such a flourish of trumpets, there was hope in some quarters here that Great Britain would soon declare a policy in regard to India consistent with this declaration. While many of the political leaders of India did not attach much weight to this declaration, the statement made by Churchill in the House of Commons early in September confirmed their worst fears. It is necessary to give here Churchill's statement to enable readers to judge the real intention of the British government in regard to India. He said: "The joint declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma or other parts of the British empire. We have pledged, by the declaration of August 1940, to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British commonwealth with ourselves, subject, of course, to the fulfillment of obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests.

* * *

Holds Indian Problem A Separate Issue

"At the Atlantic meeting," he continued, "we had in mind primarily the extension of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the states and nations of Europe now under the nazi yoke and the principles which should govern any alterations in the territorial boundaries of countries which may have to be made. That is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in regions whose peoples owe allegiance to the British crown. We have made declarations on these matters which are complete in themselves, free from ambiguity and related to the conditions and circumstances of the territories and peoples affected. They will be found to be entirely in harmony with the conception of freedom and justice which inspired the joint declaration."

* * *

Indian Conservatives Break with Britain

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, who is a supporter of British rule in India, said: "I am neither surprised nor disappointed at the prime minister's declaration. No one who has known him would expect anything better. He is not a man afraid of responsibility. But even he may well quail before taking upon himself to deny to 400,000,000 of the earth's population the benefits of the Atlantic understanding."

* * *

Congress Leader Decries Imperialism

J. B. Kripalani, general secretary of the

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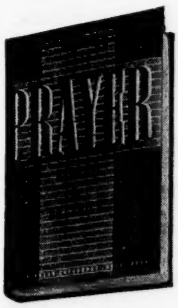

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Prayer and Personality. Prayer and Our Wandering Attention. Prayer, Suggestion, and Faith. Prayer, Instinct, and Motive. Prayer, Memory, and the Subconscious. Prayer, Imagination, and Thought. Prayer and Conscience. Personality and Prayer's Forms. Personality and Corporate Prayer.
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—that the kingdom of God may come in a world that appears to be ruled by pride, greed, cunning, and military force.
—that daily bread may be provided for all in a world where millions of human beings now go hungry, although there is bread enough and to spare.
—that man may confidently cry out: "Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. Amen." *$1*

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All-India Congress committee, said: "So far as the Congress is concerned, we are glad that Mr. Churchill has been so frank. Now there can be no doubt that whatever may happen in the war, England is determined to hold India in bondage as long as she possibly can. Fortunately the destinies of nations do not depend on individuals, however highly placed. Their best laid plans may yet be defeated by the will of the people. India has made it plain that it will have no truck with imperialism, British or any other."

* * *

What Does Roosevelt's Silence Mean?

V. D. Savarkar, the president of the Hindu Mahasabha, said: "It remains now to be seen if President Roosevelt contradicts the interpretation Mr. Churchill has put on the Anglo-American announcement or acquiesces in it. In either case, Mr. Churchill's statement has made it well-nigh impossible for President Roosevelt to keep quiet on this point. As the president of a great republic, he must speak out his mind. Silence on his part now cannot but mean that the President of the United States of America was there to play second fiddle to the dictates of Mr. Churchill."

* * *

Muslim Leader for United Front

Describing Mr. Churchill's statement as "the biggest rebuff India has ever received," Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Muslim premier of the Punjab, said: "If the British have any sense of statesmanship left in them, they should at once make the declaration I have suggested (that India shall have the status of free and equal partnership in the British commonwealth within a reasonable time after the war), in the absence of which India should present a united front." If within two or three weeks the suggested declaration was not forthcoming, the Punjab premier said, he would have no hesitation in making an appeal to Indian political parties to present a united front. This statement was made in Lahore on Oct. 3. This statement attains added importance when it is realized that the Muslim leaders have been slow to cooperate with the Congress.

* * *

Noted Jurist Supports Gandhi's Policy

The Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar is a distinguished public man of Bombay who was until recently on the council of the secretary of state for India in London. On his appointment as a judge of the federal court of India, he recently came to India. But Mr. Jayakar is not taking up this high office. He wants to devote his time to public work. In a speech he made on Oct. 1 in Madras he made some observations which are of extreme importance, coming as they do from him. Referring to the fact that the war was coming nearer and nearer to India, Mr. Jayakar said: "In the same proportion as the war is coming nearer India, the discontent and the sense of frustration of the people are increasing. One would have thought that the very instinct of self-defense which all possess and which is the primordial instinct of humanity should have inclined us to extend our support to Britain in the war. But unfortunately, owing to various causes, a conflict has arisen between the instinct of self-preservation or self-defense and the instinct of self-respect.

* * *

Britain Has Rejected Indian Support

"When the war broke out," Mr. Jayakar said, "the true impulse of Mahatma Gandhi came out in his first statement. It was the impulse of the patriot and of the friend of England, roles which it is not always easy to reconcile. The appeal made by the government so often sounded like that of a slaveowner, prior to the emancipation of slaves, asking them to vote against slavery on the ground that the slavedriver who took his place might flog them more than he did himself. The opportunity which the mahatma gave in his utterances and later which the Congress gave in its resolutions, although the Congress blundered more than once, was not utilized at all. India's money, munitions and men were wanted, but not her moral support. The situation drifted and drifted. The Congress went its own way and the government theirs." But this state of affairs soon ended.

* * *

Minorities Given Veto Power

When Mr. Jayakar arrived in India, he said, the government of India was saying, in effect, "Nothing doing even during the war, until and unless the minorities agree." This position taken by the government had been correctly described as vesting a power of veto in the minorities. With this policy, no progress is possible, he continued. For a long time it was only minorities; but in recent speeches, Mr. Amery had brought in "other interests"—geographical, historical and regional—"God alone knows what this last meant"—and others! "Is it sense to expect unanimity in a country where the seeds of disunion were planted deliberately when representation was given to minorities on the ground of difference of religion?"

* * *

Roots of Discord Very Old

The seed of prolific discord and distrust was sown in 1892, he said. Lord Morley, while yielding to Lord Minto, said that the step then taken would result in the destruction of democracy, that it would sow the seeds of disunion, that they were sowing the dragon's teeth and the harvest would be very bitter and that England would some day have to make amends for the mischievous wrong and undo the whole arrangement of religious minorities voting separately. "A European friend of mine recently said that if Japan should conquer England, the Japanese could by the introduction of this same vicious principle destroy British solidarity in ten years."

* * *

Asks National Congress To Resume Office

Mr. Jayakar referred to the recent appointment of eight Indians on the viceroy's council as affording the viceroy the opportunity of meeting eight Indians every day and thus learning the Indian point of view. He pleaded that the Indian National Congress should give up its *satyagraha* and resume parliamentary activities, and that all departments of the government of India, including defense and finance, should be manned by Indians.

P. Oomman Philip.

Chinese Scientist Studies Eclipse

Scientific Program Carried on During War—Scientists Dwell in Taoist Temple—Dr. Buck Marries

(Correspondence from West China)

Chengtu, Nov. 18.—I have just talked with Dr. Lihên, the Chinese astronomer who flew up to Kansu from our university here at Chengtu to observe and photograph the total eclipse of the sun on Sept. 21, 1941. "The generalissimo insisted on our making the scientific observations, in spite of the war," he said. "He provided the plane and the expenses for equipment." Dr. Lihên, who studied for 11 years in Lyons and is a brilliant linguist as well as a physicist, broadcast on a world hookup through Manila in French, English and Chinese, for ten minutes just before the eclipse, for ten minutes just after it, and a later ten minutes.

* * *

Shadow Outraced Airplane

A plane was prepared so they could take pictures above the clouds in case of bad weather. But they had almost perfect weather, and took pictures, stills and moving, from the wide court of a Taoist temple, while 10,000 shouting people gazed at the performance from the surrounding hills. They had one camera 18 feet long. Most of their equipment came from Pittsburgh. The plane tried to photograph the shadow as it flicked across the earth, but could not keep pace with it.

* * *

Ming Dynasty Saw Last Eclipse

Three artists were on hand to draw and paint the spectacle. On one plate photographs were taken every ten minutes, using yellow, blue and red filters, but no filter for the actual eclipse. Only one step was dim; a puff of cloud intervened. In one camera a photoelectric cell turned the dim light into electricity, which was then accurately measured. The flaming corona at full eclipse emitted 0.42 per cent of full moonlight. The last time there was so full an eclipse where it could be seen from a densely populated part of China (Yellow river valley) was during the Ming dynasty, 400 years ago minus one—1542. There will be another eclipse visible in a small spot in Yunnan in seven years, but its totality will be three minutes only. Chuang-tzu, progenitor of Taoism, would have appreciated all this performance going on in his temple away up there in Kansu.

* * *

Giant Pandas Start For America

A few days ago Dr. Graham, former curator of our university museum, and his Chinese hunters brought in two young giant pandas. Each of these round, furry, black-and-white bamboo-chewing babies—one six months old, the other nine—cost the Chinese government $8,000 in national currency. They are to be presented by Mmes. Chiang Kai-shek and H. H. Kung to America. The little one is very tame. I picked

her up in my arms, and when I set her down again on the grass she started to climb my leg! John Tee Van, who explored the ocean floor with Beebe, has flown out here to escort them on a flying trip back to America. Ruefully he remarked, "I used to have a fair reputation as a botanist; but now I am nothing but a panda-nurse!" Someone has suggested "Pandemonium" as an apt name for the frisky one.

* * *

Dr. Lossing Buck Marries

Dr. J. Lossing Buck of the University of Nanking was recently married in our home to Lomay Chang, a charming and talented Chinese woman. He is China's leading agricultural economist.

* * *

Remarkable Feat Of Memory

A year or so ago, we came across a letter written many years ago which described how every student in the old Chungking Methodist high school had to memorize the whole of the four Gospels. Those days have now passed, but I have a story to set beside this. Two months ago, at the beginning of the fall term, one of the lads from our Chinese middle school here was eager to attend the Canadian school to learn English. He wants to go to America. His father is a wealthy old scholar. The boy runs two moving picture houses in the city. After much persuasion, the lad was admitted. When he arrived at the school, he said to himself: "All these kids are sons and daughters of missionaries. They all know the Bible. But I don't know anything about it." So in his odd time outside of classes, in two months, he read the entire Chinese Bible through.

On a walk with him recently, he proposed to me that he memorize the entire English Bible.

"Great Scott, Franklin, you couldn't do that!"

"Couldn't I? In six years of study with a Chinese teacher when I was a little boy I memorized the whole Four Books and Five Classics!"

"O. K. Let's hear them." So as we scrambled over rocky hill paths he poured out without a second's hesitation reams of the Analects, the Great Learning, Mencius and others.

"You win!" I said, "but I'll have you begin with a few of the most interesting chapters." So now he is tackling some 20 chapters of the King James Version of the Old Testament.

DRYDEN L. PHELPS.

Protect Aliens in U.S.

Organization Seeks to Guard Japanese in the United States

Galen M. Fisher is the secretary of the newly organized "Northern California Committee for Fair Play for Citizens and Aliens of Japanese Ancestry," with offices located at 260 California St., San Francisco. A distinguished board of directors is headed by Gen. David P. Barrows and Gov. Culbert L. Olson. The committee notes with satisfaction that all organs of public influence have discouraged mob violence and have pleaded for tolerance, that federal officials have been sympathetic as well as vigorous and that Japanese residents have been aided in inevitable difficulties by private citizens. The committee points out that:

1. All law-abiding aliens who have lived in the United States continuously since June 17, 1940, may transact financial and other business as before the war, and any citizen is free to employ them or deal with them.

2. Needy aliens are entitled to assistance from county relief funds on the same basis as are citizens.

3. Unemployed aliens and naturalized citizens may register with the state employment department. Those who have paid into the unemployment insurance fund are eligible for unemployment benefits.

4. Enemy aliens are prohibited from traveling in public carriers and from changing their abode, but they may travel reasonable distances in private automobiles. They may not possess firearms, cameras, short-wave sets or explosives.

5. About 150 Japanese nationals in northern California have been detained for investigation by the department of justice. Only one citizen of Japanese stock has been detained by the FBI in California, and he was released after a few days.

6. American citizens of Japanese stock enjoy the same rights as any other citizen, but public carriers and other parties may, when necessary, ask for the presentation of a birth certificate to prove citizenship.

7. The Japanese-American Citizens League, consisting of some 8,000 citizens of Japanese ancestry, has made repeated pronouncements of loyalty to the United States and of opposition to the aggressive policies of Japan. Furthermore, several bodies of long-resident first generation Japanese aliens have made similar declarations. Many such Japanese have encouraged their sons to enter the U. S. armed forces and have subscribed to defense bonds.

Asks Clergy Exemption From Tire Ban

War rationing of tires should not apply to clergymen, according to the *Evangelist*, organ of the Albany diocese of the Roman Catholic Church.

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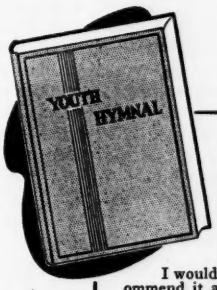

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Finns Call Soviet Youth Atheist

Religious Leaders Find Anti-Religion Strongly Developed—Swiss Denounce Growing Anti-Semitism

(Correspondence from Central Europe)

GENEVA, Dec. 2.—Bishop Lehtonen and Prof. Gulin, both well known in the ecumenical movement, recently made a pastoral visit to eastern Carelia on the borders of Finland. They found in this territory lately wrested from the Russians many evidences of the persecution of believers. The anti-religious movement had for years prevented religious activity. "The churches have been transformed into cinemas, clubrooms, dance halls, storehouses and even henhouses. For years all religious instruction has been forbidden. Anti-religious instruction in the schools has been highly developed, and the younger generation shows complete ignorance in religious matters. When we asked two women of about 30 years of age whether they knew who Jesus was, they replied: 'We don't know. We are sure he does not live in this village.' In one house the people did not know whom a fine picture of the Savior which hung there was intended to represent. Only the older people still have some religious notions." They felt that the success of German and Finnish armies was opening up an enormous mission field.

* * *

Catholics Study Protestant Struggle for Liberty

An anonymous pamphlet is being circulated among all the Roman Catholic priests in France. It quotes extensively from statements of Protestant churches in different countries, from Karl Barth and from other sources reported in the International Press and Information Service. It contains a strong call to create a front of spiritual resistance "of which the active and silent presence will bar the way to any attempt to enslave and dishonor France."

* * *

Church Must Preserve Spiritual Freedom

"Catholics intend to give the example of a tested Christian sense which is not attracted by false appeals and fallacious promises, whatever their source, and also intend to give the contagious example of Christian courage, so that the principles of justice, truth and charity may not be invoked in vain. Spiritual liberty, in the faithfulness of the church to Jesus Christ in seeking first the Kingdom of God, is the only possession which cannot be taken away from Christians. This liberty is also the thing which is bringing together all Frenchmen worthy of the national tradition for the sacred work of the liberation of France."

* * *

Swiss Render Aid to the Confessional Church

For some years there has been in existence a Swiss committee which gives help to the Confessional Church in Germany. It has regular conferences at Wipkingen near Zurich, which have theological as well as practical discussions. At the latest meeting, Dr. Visser 't Hooft spoke of the greater need for ecumenical fellowship. The conference sent two noteworthy petitions to the authorities. A protest was sent to the federal government and the army authorities concerning what the members of the conference considered an abuse of the censorship, which had prevented Christian voices from making themselves heard. They described these measures as concessions to a conception of the state which is incompatible with the confession of faith of the Reformed Church and harmful to the internal and external life of the Swiss Confederation. They publicly declared that they were determined to continue to serve the truth which it had been attempted to suppress.

* * *

Protest Swiss Anti-Semitism

On a motion of Prof. Emil Brunner, it was decided to send an urgent request to the Swiss Protestant Church Confederation, that it should urge all the Reformed churches in Switzerland to make public statements on the Jewish question. Not only the latest deportations of Jews, but also certain statements which have appeared even in the Swiss press, made it a duty of the church for the sake of its own members to proclaim to the whole world: (1) That the church, to which is committed the gospel of the mercy of God, calls its members to pray for the suffering Jewish community and do everything possible to lessen this suffering. (2) That the church, to which is committed the message of the creation of man in the image of God, condemns the mockery and persecution of the Jewish people as a desecration of the image of God and revolt against the will of God, the creator. (3) That the church, to which is committed the message of the revelation of God in the people of Israel, recognizes itself as the church of Jesus Christ to be bound up in a special way with the fate of the Jewish nation. As it is written, "salvation is of the Jews." Anti-Semitism and its principles are incompatible with membership in the Christian church.

DENZIL G. M. PATRICK.

Compton Heads Association for Advancement of Science

Arthur H. Compton, University of Chicago physicist, was elected president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its recent meeting in Dallas, Texas. Dr. Compton, foremost authority on the cosmic ray, is widely known for his defense of the Christian faith and his participation in the work of the churches.

Crime Wave Coming, Says Allen

Devere Allen, editor of *Worldover Press*, predicts that the "real wave of the future" is a wave of crime. He cites the fact that offenders under 21 years of age now constitute 48 per cent of arrests in London and notes that crime is on the increase in a number of countries.

Ask Increase in Clergy Salaries

Declaring that rising living costs decrease ministerial efficiency, the New Hampshire Congregational-Christian conference recommended "at least a 10 per cent increase in salaries of ministers."

Attack Trend To Prohibition

Chicago Paper Fears Wartime Liquor Ban—Policy Gambling Under Probe —Lutheran Bishops Take Stand

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, Jan. 12.—The *Chicago Tribune* recently lashed out with a vicious cartoon and editorial against any attempt to bring back prohibition. The editorial says in part: "The soldiers and sailors have sacrificed freedom and ease to serve their country. Only a prohibition fanatic would knowingly deprive them of any of the comforts and pleasures which remain to them. . . . Experience shows that it is futile to appeal to the reason of the dry fanatics, but perhaps they will be impressed by the fact that the American people are already on the way to being deprived of one of their greatest sources of pleasure, the automobile. We should think that that would satisfy the most blue-nosed of pleasure haters for quite a long time to come." The pleasure theory of alcohol is one which the *Tribune* can have. No self-respecting scientist would have any part of it.

* * *

Labor and Industry Pledge Cooperation

Chicago labor and industry joined in pledges of cooperation and commitment to keep the wheels of production moving swiftly in the war effort. The labor groups, some 1,200 strong, met in the city council chambers. Sam Levin, chairman of the Chicago Industrial Unions Council (C.I.O.), declared: "It was always said that if the two rival union factions were brought together under one roof, the roof would explode. We are together here tonight and I do mean together." Victor A. Olander, veteran secretary and treasurer of the Illinois A. F. of L., said: "Are we going to quibble over the rights of this or that organization when those on the firing line need our help? We have shown a world we will not." At the same time industrialists of the midwest promised the President and people the same kind of cooperation.

* * *

Novena Attracts Thousands

Our Lady of Sorrows Roman Catholic Church celebrated the 5th anniversary of "the perpetual novena in honor of Our Sorrowful Mother" this past week. The novena was started by James R. Keane, O.S.M., pastor of this parish, which had a membership of about 2,500. The novena captured the imagination of the city in amazing fashion. As many as 75,000 people stood in the rain and snow waiting their turn to enter the church. Services were held every hour and it even became necessary to hold as many as four services at the same time. Halls were taken over to accommodate the increasing numbers. Protestants in quite large numbers were attracted to the service as well as Catholics. At the present time there are 119 Catholic churches in the Chicago archdiocese which conduct these services. As many as 23,000 persons continue to come to the novena

services each Friday at the church where they were begun.

* * *

Policy Gambling Rife Among Reliefers

Joseph M. Evans, pastor of Metropolitan Community Center Church (Negro), started something when he wrote a pamphlet declaring that $600,000 a month is spent in policy gambling among his people and in his community and that 17 to 20 per cent of it comes from families on relief. Leo M. Lyons, commissioner of relief, wrote both the pastor and the Chicago Crime Commission asking that the matter be followed up thoroughly. "The Chicago relief administration," declared Lyons, "has throughout its existence endeavored to take every precaution to make sure that funds for relief were spent for that purpose."

* * *

Denounce Limitation On Word of God

Widely quoted in Lutheran circles is the statement issued to their clergy and lay readers recently by the bishops of Norway. The statement says in part: "The eternal Word must throw light upon the present situation of our life and the life of all men. In a sinful world it is inevitable that this must involve the condemnation in the light of the Word of God of certain facts in individual and social life. Harmlessly edifying preaching would be a denial of God, who desires to touch conscience precisely at its sorest point. . . . It is not permissible to draw an arbitrary boundary for the Word of God and to maintain that beyond it lies the free sovereignty of the world."

* * *

And So Forth

Lowell R. Ditzen, pastor of the South Shore Presbyterian Church, becomes assistant minister of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York.

Chicago department stores Christmas week sales were 38 per cent above those of the same week in 1940.

John O. Evejen, professor of philosophy at Carthage College, died in the Presbyterian Hospital, Chicago, Jan. 4. He was one of the great scholars of the Lutheran Church in America.

CHARLES LESLIE VENABLE.

Rector Denounces All Missions to Japan

Declaring that he had never believed in providing support for missionary activity in Japan, David M. Steele, retired rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, made the headlines in that city recently when he said: "The results have been so pitifully small. . . . Could they be other? Can you christianize a Jap? Indeed, can you make an Occidental out of an Oriental? Nay, any more than you can change a leopard's spots." Medical missions were a similar mistake, he said.

Episcopal Bishop Interned By Japanese in China

Bishop Lloyd Craighill of the Episcopal diocese of Anking, China, together with three other American members of the Episcopal mission there, have been interned at Wuhu by the Japanese. Mission authorities believe that they have been ordered to remain in school or convent buildings, but that mail will be permitted to reach them.

Clergy Attack Rosenberg Plan

Coffin Denounces Scheme for National Church in Germany—Churchmen Study Co-ops and Decentralism

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Jan. 12.—The Rosenberg plan for a national church in Germany was severely criticized by church leaders in the city. Henry Sloane Coffin called it "a cunningly devised plan to end the Christian church, to get possession of its property, and to transform its long-cherished rites into nationalistic customs." Ralph W. Sockman said it seemed "almost too absurd to be taken seriously. . . . It is further proof that Hitler is verging towards reckless fanaticism." Frederick H. Knubel of the United Lutheran Church noted that "it still remains a question how far these theories are being supported by the people of Germany. I believe that many in Germany are holding to the church."

* * *

War Prisoners Not Starving

Darius A. Davis, executive secretary for war prisoners' aid of the World Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s, described the treatment of war prisoners in Europe in a special interview last week. He stated that the Y.M.C.A. had "done everything under heaven" to extend its services to prisoners in Russia but so far permission had not been granted. "Negotiations still are going on, however," he added. In telling of his visits to German

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By ROMULUS

We regret that our supply of those issues is now exhausted. We have also received numerous inquiries as to whether the articles would be reprinted in pamphlet form. They would make a 48-page pamphlet, 6 x 9 inches, and could be made available for 15 cents per copy (10 cents in quantities of 25 or more) if the demand is sufficient to warrant a substantial printing.

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prison camps, he said: "On the whole, the prisoners were being treated fairly and according to the Geneva convention. Germany admits that Russian prisoners receive less food than those of other nationalities. In one case the only warm food that the Russians got each day in the week was a cooked turnip with a little codfish thrown in. The prisoners also received dark bread."

* * *

British Receive a Food Supplement

He pointed out that most "supplementary food" distributed by the Red Cross from relatives at home went to British prisoners. The French received some; the Serbs and Poles none. He declared that "Germany is worried about the food supply," noting that Russia's scorched earth policy had left Hitler without the resources he expected to obtain in the Ukraine. Dr. Davis insisted he had not found "a defeatist crowd anywhere" among the prisoners in Germany, even among the Poles who, he observed, had gained the respect of Germans by their fortitude. Preparations are under way to extend these services to Japanese and American prisoners.

* * *

Christian Council Meets

The United Christian Council for Democracy has met in its annual conference. Race relations were discussed by Jewish and Negro leaders, a memorial service was held for Bishop Robert L. Paddock and discussion periods continued throughout the day. The findings of the conference protested against "the discrimination which exists in education and housing, in the crucial matter of obtaining jobs and in the armed forces against Negroes and Jews," and deplored the "unnecessary and tragic fact that multitudes of Americans are a poor people in the midst of a rich country, that the war load is being put on shoulders least able to carry it, that more than 50 per cent of the war taxes are being paid by our people in the low income brackets." The findings insisted that "the struggle against fascism abroad is meaningless unless all evidences of fascism are defeated at home. We cannot be complacent toward any violation of civil liberties or destruction of the rights of any minority." They also declared that "defense of the rights of labor are integral to the defense of democracy at home."

* * *

Rural Clergy Study 'Distributism'

A seminar on "decentralist, distributist thought and movements," attended by rural ministers and national rural church administrators, was held at Trenton, N. J., Tuesday. The gathering was convened under the auspices of the committee on town and country of the Home Missions Council and the Federal Council of Churches. Consideration was given to the relation of the rural church to credit unions, purchasing and marketing cooperatives, the farm security program of the U. S. department of agriculture, the work of the rural electrification cooperatives and of the School of Living at Suffern, N. Y. The possibility of developing productive and self-sufficing rural homes was considered. The Protestant rural leaders also listened to an exposition of "Catholic distributist, decentralist thought and organizations" from Edward Skillen, Jr., an editor of *Commonweal,* Catholic lay weekly. Seven national rural church departments were represented.

* * *

Peale to Recruit Spiritual Army

A spiritual enlistment card was distributed in Marble Collegiate Church last Sunday by Norman Vincent Peale, the pastor. Dr. Peale announced he intended to spread the movement and that he would consult with other leading pastors concerning it. The card read: "In this day when men are enlisting and accepting service in the army, navy and air force of the United States for the high purpose of preserving freedom, I hereby enlist in the spiritual forces to do my bit for God and country. I believe that a revival of spiritual power is necessary to the preservation of Christian civilization, and to aid in achieving that end I hereby dedicate myself to Christ and the church."

* * *

And So Forth

Frank Howard Callahan, pastor of the First Methodist Church, Akron, Ohio, has accepted a call to the Church of St. Paul and St. Andrew, Manhattan.

Catholic sociologists must go further than analysis of situations and presentations of findings—they must "do something about it that will make for the good society," said Francis J. Friedel, president of the American Catholic Sociological Society, to 200 members of that group Sunday afternoon at the Hotel Astor.

Herman F. Reissig, former pastor of the Kings Highway Congregational Church, Brooklyn, will begin his services as pastor of the First Union Congregational Church, Quincy, Ill., on Feb. 1.

The 150th anniversary of the birth of Lowell Mason, hymnologist, was observed here Thursday with a memorial service at Union Theological Seminary.

J. Henry Carpenter.

National Lottery Opposed By Oklahomans

The proposal of Oklahoma Senator Elmer Thomas that a national lottery be launched to help finance the war was vigorously attacked by the Oklahoma City ministers' association, who characterized such a lottery as "a national disgrace" and an "immoral method of taxation." The ministers appealed to Oklahoma's other senator—Josh Lee—to help defeat the proposal. There is little evidence that the idea is being taken seriously—yet.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M—Mature. Y—Younger. C—Children. *Outstanding for Family. †Outstanding for Mature Audience.

Appointment for Love (Univ.) Chas. Boyer, R. Denny, E. Pallette, M. Sullavan	*Comedy* based on premise that the husband of a successful physician must perforce be jealous of all his wife's professional activity.	A sophisticated trifle, directed with finesse and frequently with effective humor. The plot struggles hard to keep going, but in the end nothing much has happened. *Empty brilliance.* M
Ball of Fire (RKO) Dana Andrews, Gary Cooper, B. Stanwyck, H. Travers	*Comedy.* Staid office-home life of eight bachelor professors is radically altered when slangy dancer seeks refuge with them to avoid police.	Certain portions—particularly those dealing with research into slang—are delightful, but film drags, and whimsy with which old professors are treated tends to go overboard. *Fair comedy.* M, Y
Cadet Girl (Fox) Carole Landis, G. Montgomery, J. Shepperd	*Comedy,* with swing music against a story of how a West Point cadet overcomes lure of swing and marriage to keep true to army tradition.	A thin, artificial plot that fails to interest or convince. *Trivial but harmless.* Y
Obliging Young Lady (RKO) Eve Arden, Joan Carroll, E. O'Brien, Ruth Warrick	*Comedy.* Paths of a reporter and a lovely young lady seem destined to cross, but complications arise to provide comic interludes.	A very routine story, but delightfully comic touches in direction and characterization lift it from intended "B" category to *unpretentious excellence.* M, Y, C
Shadow of the Thin Man (MGM) Dickie Hall, Myrna Loy, Wm. Powell	*Mystery-comedy,* with detective leaving customary tippling just long enough to solve gambling-syndicate murders.	Another in this sophisticated, smoothly directed series, its plot very obvious and routine for a mystery and marred by emphasis on liquor as incidental comedy device. *Regrettable.* M
They Died With Their Boots On (War.) O. DeHavilland, Errol Flynn, A. Kennedy, John Litel	*Historical.* Romanticized exploits of General Custer from West Point days to final massacre on Big Horn, stressing his impetuosity and love of glory.	Designed for those who like plenty of action no matter how ruthless. To its credit is treatment of Indians as real people with just cause for revolt. Departure from historical fact not particularly objectionable. *Tense, exciting.* M, Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Fantasia, The Great Commandment, The Great Dictator, Harmon of Michigan, It Started With Eve, Life Begins for Andy Hardy, Men of Boys' Town, The Reluctant Dragon, Tanks a Million.

For Mature Audience: All That Money Can Buy, Blossoms in the Dust, Citizen Kane, Here Comes Mr. Jordan, Hold Back the Dawn, How Green Was My Valley, Ku Kan, H. M. Pulham, Esq., Ladies in Retirement, The Little Foxes, Major Barbara, Meet John Doe, The Men in Her Life, Remember the Day, One Foot in Heaven, Sergeant York, The Stars Look Down, Suspicion, Target for Tonight.

COMING

On February 4 The Christian Century will publish the first article in the series on 1942's most important question:

How Shall the Christian Church Prepare for the New World Order?

Walter W. Van Kirk

National Radio Commentator, Director of the Federal Council department on International Justice and Good Will, writes on

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'Books like this help whole generations to see more clearly'

Man's Vision of God • By Charles Hartshorne

DANIEL D. WILLIAMS, assistant professor of Christian theology at the Chicago Theological Seminary, writing in the shadow of the majestic Chapel of the University of Chicago, is moved to say of Dr. Hartshorne's new book:

"As I write this review, the clouds have moved in from the lake, and as one looks at the tower of the great chapel one sees it rising, dim and beautiful, through the mist, fading finally into mystery at the top. This vision of the tower is a parable of the vision of God which is disclosed in Professor Hartshorne's masterpiece. Here we are helped by one extraordinarily equipped with religious sensitivity and logical power to clarify our understanding of God. We are led to see him in something of his beauty; we are aided to distinguish some of the cosmic outlines of his being as they stand out in the midst of the lights and shadows of experience; and we realize at the last that his being shades off into mystery which our sight cannot penetrate."

Outlining the author's argument, the reviewer points out that Dr. Hartshorne's basic concept is that "God is Love." "Love is dynamic, social, both active and passive. A loving God would be perfect in goodness; but, by that very fact, in part dependent for his experience, his happiness, and his specific actions upon the creatures whom he loves." This concept, Hartshorne believes, is required by the most valid and rigorous metaphysics possible today, and he defends it "with devastating power" against both Thomists and atheists. "He is one of the few who can write about Christian love without dissolving the concept in sentimentality."

Dr. Williams closes his review with this tribute to *Man's Vision of God:* "Books like this help whole generations to see more clearly; and if our seeing is clouded at some points and God recedes into the mist, yet we know he is there, and the clouds of darkness are shot through with the light of the knowledge of his glory." *(Chicago Theological Seminary Register.)*

Other Comments

"A strong, stalwart book, yielding no arguments and moving toward a rich religious conclusion."—*Religion in Life.*

"An indispensable contribution to any theology that is critical of itself."—*John C. Bennett.*

"I predict that future writers on the theistic problem will regard his contribution as marking a turning point in both philosophy and theology." — *Charles Clayton Morrison.*

"A scrutiny of our theistic thinking which is at once timely, profound and exciting."—*Union Seminary Review.*

"Hartshorne has provided us with a powerful mental catalytic agent which may precipitate a really new situation in the theological and philosophical world." —*Walter M. Horton.*

"A thorough piece of thinking."—*N. Y. Times.*

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